116, 101

The old writers called them Xivaros or Xibaros. This orthography was employed in 1651 by Padre Laureano de la Cruz in his account, Nuevo descubrimiento del Amazonas (1), by Padre Manuel Rodriques (2) in 1684, by Padre Samuel Frita (3) in his map published in 1707, by Padre Francisco [334] Javier Weigel in his map drawn in 1769, during his detention at Lisbon after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish possessions [335] (4)

1. This account is found in Vol. I, p. 147, of Varones Ilustres de la Orden Seráfica en el Ecuador, by P. Fr. Francisco Maria Compte, 2nd edition, 2 vol., Quito, 1895.

2. Padre Manuel Rodriques. El Marañon y Amazonas, Madrid, 1684, Book III, ch. XIII, p. 205.

3. A copy of the original of this map was brought back by La Condamine and is in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. A smaller engraved copy was published in Quito in 1707. It is found also in Vol. VIII of Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères, Missions d'Amérique, new edition, Toulouse, 1810.

4. The map of Padre Weigel is reproduced in the beginning of the book Historia de las misiones de la Compañia de Jesus en el Marañon español by Padre Jose Chantre y Herrera, Madrid, 1901.

La Condamine (5), Maldonado (6), Coleti (7), Requena y Herrera (8) in the map that he made in 1779 concerning the regions of the upper Amazon, Lapie (9), and Mollien (10)

5. La Condamine. Relation abrégée d'un voyage fait dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique méridionale, Paris, 1745, in 8°, page 38.

6. Carta de la Provincia de Quito y de sus adyacentes, obra póstuma de Don Pedro Maldonado, sacada a luz por orden y a expensas de Su Majestad, 1750.

7. G. D. Coleti. Dizionario storico-geografico dell' América meridionale. Venezia, 1771, 2 vol. in-4°.

8. This map accompanies a Descripción del Gobierno de Maynas y misiones en el establecidas por el Coronel Don Francisco Requena y Herrera, Gobernador de Maynas, Comandante general de su provincia y de la de Quijos y Macas, 1785, (Archives of Quito). It was published in Quito in 1903 by order of Dr. Luis Cordero, then president of the Republic of Ecuador.

9. Annales des Voyages, Vol. XVI, 1811, in-8°. See Lapie's map at the end of the volume.

10. G. Mollien. Voyage dans la République de Colombie en 1823, Paris, 1824, 2 vol. See his map in vol. II.

also adopted it. The Italians, Rev. Father Louis Pozzi (11) and Colini (12), wrote Givari. Some explorers of the same nationality have proposed Xivari (13) or Chivari (14). One also finds in other accounts Givaros (15). Zibaros (16). Jivaros (17). Jiviros (18).

11. R. P. Louis Pozzi. "Excursion militaire chez les sauvages du Marogano, mission de Gualaquiza, details ethnographiques sur la tribu des Givari." (Annales de la propagation de la foi, Sept. 1871, n° 258, page 353.)

12. G. A. Colini. "Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari." Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Roma (anno CCLXXX, 1882-1883).

13. Gaetano Osculati. Esplorazione delle Regioni Equatoriali lungo il Napo ei il fiume delle Amazzoni, 1st ed., Milan, 1850. Note on page 29.

14. Colini, op. cit., note 2, page 4.

15. Padre Manuel Castrucci de Vernazza. Viaje practicado desde el Callao hasta las misiones de las dos tribus de infieles Záparos y Givaros, Lima, 1849.

16. G. A. Colini. "Collezione Etnografica degli indigeni dell'alto Amazzoni acquistata dal Museo preistorico-etnografico di Roma." (Bolletino della Società Geografica italiana. Rome, April-May, 1883) Note 2 on page 17.

17. & 18. For footnotes 17 and 18 see next page. (Jivaro-4)

Mibaros (19), Rebaros (20), [116] Jevaros (21), and Xebros (22).

17. Clements R. Markham. "A list of the Tribes in the Valley of the Amazon, including those on the banks of the main Stream, and of all its tributaries." (Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London. Vol. III, New Series, 1865, p. 140.)

18. William Bollaert. "On the Idol Human Head of the Jivaro Indians of Ecuador" (Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London. New Series, vol. II. 1863, p. 112.

19. Daniel G. Brinton. "Studies in South American Languages," in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 1892, vol. XXX, Philadelphia, p. 59. ---The American Race: A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America. New York, 1891, p. 282-284.

20. Don Jorge Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa. Relación histórica del viaje a la América meridional, 4 vol. Madrid, 1748. 1 part, Vol. II, p. 530.

21. Antonio Raimondi. "On the Indian Tribes of the great district of Loreto, in Northern Peru" (The anthropological Review, v. 1, 1863, p. 33). (translated from Spanish by W. Bollaert).

22. John Lubbock. "Note on the Macas Indians" (The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. III, 1874, no 1 page 29).

12: Rivet--336 (no date) 1907 Jíbaro -I
116, 101

Marcoy (1), Markham (2) then Bollaert (3) identified the Jíbaros and the Jeberos (Jeberos or Xeberos) as the same group, and many authors after them, Brinton (4) in particular, have admitted this synonymy, which to my mind is not legitimate. (This confusion seems to arise from the finding of Xiberos instead of Xeberos in a "Description abrégée du fleuve Maragnon et des missions établies aux environs de ce fleuve, tirée d'un memoire espagnol du Père Samuel Frita," published in vol. VIII of the Lettres Edifiantes, op. cit. p. 232. But this translation abounds in errors in the orthography of geographic names: For example, in it one finds Sogrona written instead of Logroño.) In fact, Father Fritz, Father Weigel and Father Requena separate very clearly on their maps the territories inhabited by these two tribes; Hervás (5) distinguishes the languages

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1. P. Marcoy. "Voyage de l'océan Atlantique à travers l'Amérique du Sud (1848-1860)" (Le Tour du Monde, vol. X, 1864, 2nd half-year, page 169).
2. Markham, op. cit., p. 166.
3. Bollaert, op. cit., p. 115.
4. Brinton, op. cit.
5. Don Lorenzo Hervas. Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas. Vol. I. Lenguas y naciones americanas, p. 263-264, Madrid, 1800.

spoken by each of them; Velasco (6) in his list of the Indian tribes of the Ecuadorian Oriente classes the *Jíbaros* and the *Jeberos* separately; Maldonado, Villavicencio (7) in their maps place the first tribe well to the North of the village which bears the name of the second tribe. Closer to our day, Raimondi (8), Orton (9) and Ordinaire (10) describe successively the one and then the other tribe.

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6. Don Juan de Velasco. Historia del Reino de Quito (written in 1789), 3 vol., Quito, 1844, vol. III, Historia Moderna, p. 251-252.

7. Carta Corográfica de la República del Ecuador by Manuel Villavicencio, 1858. Printed by F. Mayer and Co., New York.

8. Antonio Raimondi. "Apuntes sobre la provincia litoral de Loreto" in Geografía del Perú by Mateo Paz Soldan. Paris, 1862, vol. I, p. 664 and p. 666.

9. James Orton. The Andes and the Amazons or across the continent of South America, p. 471. New York, 1875, 3 ed.

10. Olivier Ordinaire. "Les Sauvages du Pérou" (Revue d'Ethnographie, vol. VI, 1887, p. 265.)

12: Rivet--338 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 157, 177

A characteristic common to all these tribes is their love of independence; the result being that these Indians, armed with simple lances of wood, located at the very gates of the civilized and Christian world, have kept all their purity of race and all their originality until the beginning of the twentieth century. Protected by impenetrable forests, where tropical nature seems to take pleasure in accumulating obstacles against the entrance of the invader, these passionate lovers of liberty have resisted with equal success the numerous assaults made on them by the Spaniards and missionaries, all the attempts of conquests and all the attempts at conversion, as we shall now see in studying their past.

12: Rivet--338-339 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

The Jíbaros made an appearance late in history. Their name was pronounced for the first [339] time when, toward the middle of the fifteenth century, the Inca Tupac-Yupanqui undertook the conquest of the kingdom of Quito. The Peruvian conqueror came up against the Cañaris, who lived in the inter-Andean valley, the region which now forms the province of Azuay, and, the chroniclers say, the chief of the Cañaris, Dumma, had for an ally the chief of Macas (1). This alliance was undoubtedly only temporary, for it seems that the two tribes were habitually in a state of hostility if one can judge by the ruins which still remain beyond the village of Sigsig in the Eastern Cordillera. Tradition says that these struggles of the Cañaris against the Jíbaros of Gualaquiza and Zamora had as an objective the possession of salt mines, the location of which it is difficult to determine today(2).

1. Federico Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio histórico sobre los Cañaris, Quito 1878, page 8. Fernandez Montesinos. Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú. (Edited by Don Marcos Jimenez de la Espada), Madrid, 1882, in-8, ch. xxiii and xxvi.

2. Gonzalez Suarez. "Los aborígenes de Imbabura y del Carchi." Investigaciones arqueológicas, Quito 1904, note on page 12.
---Gonzalez Suarez. Prehistoria americana, op. cit., note on page 16.
---Descripciones Geográficas de Indias, Perú, vol. III; Descripción de la provincia de Cuenca hecha el año de 1582, Madrid, 1897.

12: Rivet--339 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

The Cañaris having been conquered, one hears no more about the Jíbaros until the day when the son of Túpac-Yupanqui, Huayna-Cápac, continuing his father's plans, tried to subdue them, but the Inca king had to withdraw in haste from the territory of the Bracamoros (basin of the Chinchipe River) where his troops were as much decimated by the insalubrity of the climate as the incessant attacks of the savages; he avenged himself for this humiliating repulse by declaring them unworthy to be his subjects, hiding the frustration of his ambition under this contemptuous formula. (1)

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia General de la República del Ecuador, Quito, 1890-1903; 7 vol. and one archeological atlas, vol. I, p. 54.

Then came the Spanish domination.

The unfortunate expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro (1541) and the adventurous navigation of Francisco de Orellana on the Napo and the Amazon did not touch the Jívaro country; but at the same time, Captain Pedro de Vergara, by order of Francisco Pizarro, tried in his turn to subject the Bracamoros, and went through all the eastern region which now corresponds to the provinces of Loja and Azuay, without obtaining the slightest practical result.

In 1548, on the morning following the battle of Jaquijaguana, in which Gonzalo Pizarro and his companions were crushed, President Don Pedro [168] de La Gasca, in order to make use of his unoccupied soldiers henceforth, divided eastern Ecuador into four regions whose conquest was entrusted to these head captains.

From north to south, they were:

1. The province of Quijos, sometimes called the province of Sumaco or of Canela (20 leagues from north to south, 200 leagues from west to east), bounded on the north by the province of Macas and Sucumbíos;

2. The province of Macas, which extended from the forests of Gualaquiza, to the east of Cuenca, up to the banks of the Pastaza, then called the Tungurahua River;

3. The province of Yaguarzongo, which corresponds to the Zamora Valley;

4. The province of Bracamoros, entirely to the south, corresponding to the basin of the Chinchipe.

Of these provinces, the last three, save for the extreme southern parts of the province of Bracamoros, correspond to the Jíbaro territory. The conquest of Bracamoros went to Captain Diego Palomino, that of Yaguarzongos to Captain Alonso de Mercadillo, that of Macas to Captain Hernando de Benavente.

Benavente entered his domain by way of Zuña, and descended as far as Gualaquiza, but this audacious raid remained without results.

Mercadillo succeeded better in his enterprise and in 1549 established the city of Zamora; as for Palomino, his efforts carried him to the Chinchipe Valley, outside the Jíbaro country; the city of Jaen was built at this time (1549).

12: Rivet--336-337 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 101

I believe that there is reason for reserving the name of Jeberos for a tribe characterized by a special language, which lives between the Apena river and the Cahuapanas river, on the right bank of the Amazon. As for the Indians with whom we are dealing, we must give them the name of [337] Jibaros. The "j" should be pronounced like the Spanish j. Since South Americans make very little difference between the pronunciation of "b" and "v" they often write Jívaro. As the Spanish dictionary gives the spelling Jíbaro, a word which means "country fellow, peasant, savage", it is this last spelling which should be adopted.

This point settled, it is useful to call attention to the fact that, in the time following the first attempts at conquest of the eastern regions by the Spanish, the word "Jíbaro" was very comprehensive; a synonym of the word "Yumbo", it was applied to all Indian peoples still unsubdued and not converted (1).

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1. Federico Gonzalez Suarez. Prehistoria Americana. Ligeras reflexiones sobre las razas indígenas que poblaban antiguamente el territorio actual de la República del Ecuador. Quito, 1904, p. 37.

12: Rivet--337 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 131

The Jîbaro country should be considered exclusively as the more or less triangular-shaped region bounded on the west by the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes, on the north-east and east by the great Pastaza River from the point where it crosses the Cordillera to its confluence with the Marañon, on the south by the Marañon itself, from the mouth of the Pastaza to that of the Santiago, and then by the chain of mountains which runs west to east between the valleys of the Santiago and the Chinchipe, called the Cordillera of the Condor (see the map).

This vast territory corresponds, in going from the north to the south, to the following provinces of Ecuador in the inter-Andean valley: the province of Tunguragua, capital: Ambato; the province of Cañar, capital: Azogues; the province of Azuay, capital: Cuenca; the province of Loja, capital: Loja.

Needless to say, the boundaries that I have indicated are not absolute. The Pastaza river to the north-east is naturally not an insurmountable barrier for the tribes who wander on its right bank, likewise to the south, the Amazon and the Cordillera of the Condor can not keep out the incursions of the savages living on the right bank of the Marañon River or in the basin of the Chinchipe River. Certain tribes have even established themselves in a definite manner to the south of the Amazon.

12: Rivet--337-338 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 133

The Jîbaro country is crossed by three great watercourses which run nearly parallel in a general N.N.W.-S.S.E. direction and enter the Amazon on the left bank. In going from West to East, these are: the Santiago, formed by the joining of the [338] Upano River (1), which originates on the southern slopes of the Sangay volcano, renowned for its constant activity, and the Paute River, or Namangasa River, coming from the plains of Cuenca, and with the Zamora River, which drains the waters of the Loja Valley; the Morona, whose origins are found to the north and northeast of the village of Macas; and finally the Pastaza, formed by the Chambô River descending from the region of Riobamba and by the Rio Patate coming from the region of Ambato, which, meeting at the northern foot of the Tungaragua Volcano, cross the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes through an enormous gap.

1. I accept here the opinion of the Dominican Father Vacas Galindo, who has lived in Macas for a number of years as a missionary and who has just published on behalf of the Ecuadorian government a very interesting map of the republic of Ecuador on a scale of 1: 1,500,000: Mapa Geografico-historico de la Republica del Ecuador, by Rev. Father Fray Enrique Vacas Galindo. Quito, 1906, chez Henry Barrère, 21, rue du Bac, Paris. Wolf, on the contrary, admits that the Upano forms the Morona: Carta geografica del Ecuador by Dr. Teodoro Wolf, 1:445,000: Geographic Institute of H. Wagner and E. Debes. Leipsig, 1892.

12: Rivet--338 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 162, 171

The savages who live in this immense territory present an absolute ethnic unity: their customs and habits are totally distinct from the customs and habits of their neighbors to the northeast, the Záparos, as well as from their neighbors to the south, in the Peruvian province of Loreto (1). Moreover, they speak a single language which differs from the languages spoken in the neighboring regions. (2) These two proved facts empower the ethnologist to unite them under the name of Jíbaros.

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1. Raimondi, op. cit.
2. I have a large vocabulary of the Jivaro language, which I will make the subject of a further linguistic study.

12: Rivet--340
116, 175

(no date) 1907

Jívaro

In 1557, Juan de Salinas, Governor of Yaguarzongo and Macas, organized a memorable expedition in order to explore eastern Ecuador. Leaving Loja on July 8, 1557, he crossed the Cordillera and founded successively Valladolid, Loyola in the valley of Cumbinamá, Santiago de las Montañas at the juncture of the river of the same name with that of the Manañon, and finally Santa Maria de Nieva; then he embarked on the Santiago, arrived at the Amazon, passed through the famous Pongo de Manseriche, reconnoitred the mouth of the Morona and the Pastaza, visited the great lake of Rimachuma, entered the Ucayali and by this means penetrated as far as the parallel of the province of Cuzco; then they retraced their steps and the hardy explorer returned to Loja on August 28, 1559, having visited all the section south of the Jíbaro country in the course of this magnificent voyage. (1)

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1. Relaciones Geograficas de Indias, publicadas por el Ministerio de Fomento. Madrid, 1881, 4 vol. Perú, vol. IV.--Gonzalez Suarez, Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, ch. II.

Almost at the same time, by the order of Salinas, his nephew, Captain Bernardo de Loyola y Guinea founded Logroño in the province of Gualaquiza, and Captain José Villanueva Maldonado established Sevilla de Oro on the right bank of the Upano. Mendoza was also founded about the same time on the left bank of the Palora.

Thanks to the energetic efforts of Salinas, there existed therefore in the territory which had been entrusted to him, 9 cities: Jaen, Valladolid, Loyola, Santa-Maria de Nieva, Zamora, Santiago, Logroño, Sevilla de Oro, and Mendoza, the last five being in Jíbaro country. But this prosperity was more apparent than real. Usually built without discernment in places where the insalubrity obliged the inhabitants to change the location often, isolated from the center of colonization, surrounded by hostile tribes, these cities by their appearance alone revealed the haste with which they had been constructed. The streets were drawn with measuring lines but the houses were miserable huts with walls of bamboo covered with clay, and with thatched roofs. (1) Moreover, the bad system of colonization employed by the Spaniards, their cupidity, and their cruelty soon caused the conquered Indians to disappear. Many died working in the mines; the others fled to the deepest parts of the forest. So it was that at the time of the founding of Zamora, there were 16,000 Indians in the district and in 1622, no more than 140 remained, and the city itself only had 3 inhabitants. In 1598, Valladolid was reduced to 15 inhabitants and one could only make a little village of the miserable remains of the two great cities of Valladolid and Loyola.

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, p. 46.

12: Rivet--341-342 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 669

Incessant uprisings were also the result of this disastrous colonial policy. The most famous was that of 1599. On the occasion of the death of Philipp II, and the crowning of Philipp III, the governor of Macas wished to levy in his province a supplementary tribute under the name of "donativo para fiestas reales". Exasperated, the Jíbaros prepared a great revolt, under the leadership of a chief called Quiruba, and on the appointed day, 20,000 Indians attacked Logroño in the night. All the inhabitants were killed, the young women alone were spared and became [342] the wives of the wild victors (1). The governor died in the worst tortures; Quiruba made him drink melted gold to see, he said, if thus his thirst for riches could be appeased. The city was pillaged and burned, there were about 12,000 deaths. From Logroño, Quiruba went to Sevilla de Oro, where a great many of the inhabitants of Mendoza had taken refuge. The unfortunate city put up a desperate resistance and the aggressors had to withdraw, not without having killed three quarters of the population, about 18,000 individuals (2).

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, note on page 70. The wise Ecuadorian historian has pointed out that the Jíbaros could not have captured nuns since there did not exist at this time a convent of women in any city of the eastern region.

2. Coleti, op. cit. word Xivaros, vol. II, p. 182.--Velasco, op. cit. vol. III, p. 152 and following.--Pedro Fermín Cevallos. Resumen de la historia del Ecuador. Guayaquil 1886, 6 vol. vol. II, pages 141 and following.

Three expeditions organized to avenge these deaths failed miserably.

The end of the sixteenth century, therefore, saw the disappearance of these cities founded at random by these captains who were more bold than experienced, and the Jíbaros could greet the dawn of the 17th century in the rapture of a recovered independance.

But the descendants of the "Conquistadores" always cherished the dream of colonizing the Amazonian regions, and in September, 1619, the Corregidor de Yaguarzongo, Don Diego Vaca de Vega, at the head of a troup of 68 well-armed men and a number of Indian slaves, embarked on the Santiago in 22 canoes of huge size, and he descended this river until it joined the Marañon, passed through the Pongo de Manseriche, and founded the city of San Francisco de Borja on the left bank of the Amazon on December 9. He continued his exploration as far as Lake Rimachuma (1). On his return he had a private interview with the viceroy of Peru, who named him governor of the province of Mainas to pacify the Jíbaros, but he did not keep his promise. It was in May, 1645, that his eldest son, Don Pedro Vaca de la Cadena, who had succeeded him ordered two Franciscan monks, Fathers Laureano de la Cruz and Andrés Fernandez, to go into the Jíbaro country by way of Cuenca with the aid of Colonel Antonio Carreño (2). In spite of their absolute defeat, this attempt opened a new epoch. One can [343] consider, in fact,

1. Gonzalez Suarez, Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol. VI, p. 113.
2. Compte, op. cit., vol. I, p. 178.

12: Rivet--342-343 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 175

the epoch of purely military expeditions as finished: the attempts at penetration now are arrayed in a religious character, even when they had another purpose than the evangelical.

12: Rivet--343 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175

For a century, a veritable assault was made against the Jíbaros tribes, from the west as well as from the east. From the east, it was led vigorously by the Jesuits who, after 1638, had established flourishing missions in the eastern region, the monks either accomplishing it alone, or cooperating in the half military, half religious expeditions that the civil authorities liked to organize.

The first attempt of this kind was in 1656. At this time, the governor of Cajamarca, Don Martín de la Riva Agüero, organized a company of 100 soldiers, to which were added 100 Indians brought in from the Mainas missions by the Jesuit Father Raimundo Santa Cruz (1). This important group traversed the whole left bank of the Marañon, and near the point where the Pastaza empties into this river, on July 25, 1656, was founded the city of Santiago de Santander, which, moreover, disappeared almost immediately (2). As for the Jíbaros, at first attracted by the prudent behavior of Father Raimundo, they quickly guessed the real goal of the expedition and fled, not without having killed a good many Spaniards in skillful ambushes.

1. Chantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 176
2. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol. VI, p. 203.

116, 175

About 1690, Father Lorenzo Lucero, with the aid of a small flotilla, organized a number of peaceful expeditions into the Jíbaro country, but the reputation of cupidity left by the expedition of Martín de la Riva prevented his success (1).

Two years later, a great effort was again made. By the order of the "Real Audiencia", the Captain-General of Mainas, Don Jerónimo Vaca undertook in his turn the conquest of the Jíbaros; the Superior of the Jesuit Missions, Father Viva, accompanied him and brought with him canoes and already converted Indians, in a word, all the necessary auxiliaries and resources. (2) Never had such preparations been made: a real fleet was assembled at Borja, consisting of a troup of 100 Spanish soldiers and 900 Indians. Each tribe was armed according to its local custom and [344] commanded by its own missionary. The expedition ascended the Santiago by canoe and fortified itself on the bank of this river. Then they began a series of veritable man hunts, based on this point, with the purpose of capturing by force these savages who were so stubborn as not to come voluntarily to the Europeans. These detachments combed the country in every direction and some went as far as Zamora, having thus traversed from east to west all the Jíbaro country. Useless trouble ! the Indians fled before the troops or they hid themselves, thanks to their profound knowledge of the forest, in order to return at the propitious

1. Chantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 283.
2. Chantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 303 and following

moment to harass and surprise the Spaniards, who fell without even knowing where the death blows came from. In five months, they captured 372 individuals; but these unhappy souls, instead of letting themselves be touched by evangelical grace, escaped at the first opportunity, and if flight appeared impossible to them, they committed suicide rather than renounce their liberty, and mothers were seen to kill their young children by their own hands, by suffocating them with mud or stones, in order to save them from the life which awaited them. At the end of five months, the discouraged and fatigued expedition disbanded, and the viceroy of Peru, realizing the uselessness and the danger of these "correrías", forbade them for the future (1).

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol. VI, p. 204.

12: Rivet--344 (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 175, 797

It was not until 1767 that Father Andrès Camacho made a new attempt; it appears that he was on the way to success, when the decree of Charles III appeared, expelling the Jesuits from the Spanish colonies (Pragmatic Sanction against the Society of Jésus: April 2, 1767) (1). The missions were then successively handed over to secular priests and then to the Franciscans, who conducted them from 1790 to 1803. Far from being marked by new conquests, this period was all decadence and disorganization.

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1. Cuantre y Herrera, op. cit., p. 574.

While the society of Jesus attacked the savages from the southeast, other missionaries tried to take them in the rear from the west: I am speaking of the Dominicans. In 1581, four Fathers of this order, belonging to the convent of Quito, had penetrated into the basin of the Pastaza: Father Valentin de Amaya had explored the right bank of this river, Father Baltasar Quintana the left bank and its tributaries, Father Diego de Ochoa had ventured into the mountains of the Penday, and Sebastian Rosero into those of Puya (1). [345] A first village by the name of Canelos had been founded the same year with the baptized Indians at the mouth of the Pindo. But harassed by the attacks of the Jibaros, the Fathers had to change the location twice and finally established it on the spot where it now is, on a little hill which dominates the left bank of the Bobonasa (2). This mission of Canelos, officially entrusted to the Dominicans in 1683,by Charles II. did not progress, and in 1778, there were only 22 male individuals in a single village (3). the object of incessant assaults by neighboring tribes, and it would even have disappeared but for the

1. Probably Puyo, the mountain massil in which the Pindo River has its source.
2. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur. Paris, 1889, p. 134.
3. "Informe del misionero Fr. Manuel Bermeo",1778, in Compte, op. cit. vol. II, p. 278.

arrival of Father Santiago Riofrío who brought it some prosperity. In 1798, thanks to him, it included the three annexed small villages of Nuestra Señora del Rosario or la Palma (173 inhabitants), San Jacinto (37 inhabitants) and San Carlos de los Achuales (36 inhabitants) (4). This mission remained in the hands of the Dominicans until 1803, at which time it was given over to the bishop of Mainas.

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4. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, p. 196, note 12.

As for Macas, the effort was still less important. In 1736, Father Martín Huydobro de Montalvan, by the command of Governor Don Alejandro de Escalante, penetrated to the home of the savages of this region, but at the end of two years, he had to withdraw without having been able to found a single village, the new converts having been decimated by small-pox (1).

Finally, further to the south, in August, 1785, the Corrogidor of Loja, Don Manuel Vallano y Cuesta, organized on the order of the President of Quito, an expedition into the region of Zamora. His report contains some interesting details concerning the Indians that he encountered and one map of the location of Zamora is appended. (2)

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1. "Informe del P. Fr. Bartolomé de Alacáno dirigido al Presidents de Quito", 1739, in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, p. 55.
2. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, note on page 221.

12: Rivet--345 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 177

With the 18th century and the expulsion of the Jesuits came the end of the attempts at religious conquest of the Jíbaros. With equal good luck, indomitable Indians had resisted the monks as they had resisted the Spanish soldiers in the course of the 16th century.

12: Rivet--345-346 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 797

In 1803, the immense diocese of Mainas was set up. It was bounded [346] on the east by the Portugese settlements on the banks of the Amazon, on the west by the base of the Cordillera of the Andes, on the north by the Putumayo, to the south by the Pongo de Manseriche of the Marañon (Papal Bull VII of May 28, 1803). All the Jíbaro territory came under this ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in which all the existing missions were put. But this attempt at centralization did not last very long, since in 1814 the Dominicans had taken possession of their old establishment of Canelos which then had only 145 inhabitants (1). At this time, the evangelical zeal had cooled singularly. The flame of the apostolate shone only with a feeble light, and if there was still interest in the mysterious eastern regions, it was more out of curiosity or cupidity than because of piety. So it was that more expeditions were organized into the regions of Cuenca and Loja in order to look for the former site of Logroño, in particular in 1788 and 1789, at the instigation of the Bishop of Cuenca, José Carrion y Marfil. The explorers discovered the ruins of good-sized buildings on the other side of the Cordillera, which ruins they took for the remains of the unhappy city and which were in reality, vestiges of aboriginal construction, perhaps some of those works of defense constructed by the Cañaris in order to protect themselves against the Jíbaros, of whom I have already spoken.

1. "Extracto de un informe del Ilmo Sr. Rangel," 1818, in Compte, op. cit. vol. II, p. 339.---Fr. Enrique Vacas Galindo, Limites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, 3 vol., Quito, 1902-1903, vol. I, p. 370.

In 1816, a Franciscan monk, Father Antonio José Prieto, by command of the temporary governor of Cuenca, Don José Lopez Tormaleo, received the mission from the viceroy Abascal to make a new reconnaissance. He was very well received by the Jíbaros, who spontaneously showed him a spot planted with orange trees, at the union of the Bomboisa and Jambibiza, telling him: "Here are buried the whites, your ancestors!" (1) The tradition of the massacre of 1599 had been transmitted faithfully from generation to generation. Ruins were found at the juncture of the Bomboiza and Sangurima (or Rosario); they are pre-Columbian; Father Prieto made a map of them, and here is the description of them given by Gonzalez Suarez, who has had the original documents in his hands: "The ruins are formed of three parts: a very prolonged wall, destined to enclose and defend the entire edifice, parallel to the current of the two rivers; nine parallel stone walls [347] forming eight passageways; three houses almost joined to each other, a walled square, and finally two parallel ramparts constructed in order to defend and protect the site of the houses. The buildings were of stone and their ruins occupy a considerable expanse of land. When Father Prieto visited these places the trees had already formed a dense forest"(2). In remembrance of his trip the missionary founded,

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit. vol, VI, note on page 205.
2. Gonzalez Suarez. "Aborígenes de Imbabura y del Carchi," op. cit., note on page 12.--Segundo Alvarez Arteta. La cuestión de Límites entre las Repúblicas del Ecuador y el Perú. Sevilla, 1901, p. 396.

about a league away from the juncture of the Bomboiza and the Santiago or Paute, the little village which still exists under the name of Gualaquiza (3).

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3. "Descripción de la Provincia de los Jívaros, su religión, costumbres y producciones," by Franciscan Father Fray Antonio Jose Prieto in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, p. 63.

12: Rivet--347-348 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 175

The wars of emancipation and the period of political troubles which followed were hardly favorable to the attempts at penetration into the homes of the savages of the East. Too many urgent preoccupations kept the attention of the Spanish in the center of their rebellious country. This trouble was a source of peace for the Jíbaros and it was not until the middle of the 19th century that some explorers or new missionaries tried to enter into contact with them again. In 1848 (May and June) Padre Manuel Castrucci de Vernazza visited the tribes of the Pastaza without great evangelical success (1); in 1852, the bishop of Cuenca, Mgr. Manuel Plaza wished to reopen the abandoned missions and to this end made a trip to Gualaquiza (2). In 1859, the bishop of Chachapoyas, Don Pedro Ruiz, led toward the south of the Jíbaro country a Peruvian expedition, organized under the auspices of the Sociedad de Patriotas del Amazonas (3); in 1861, the Ecuadorian colonel Victor Proaño left Macas and descended the course of the Morona to its confluence with the Marañon, giving a very curious account of his trip (4). Finally, in 1867 and

1. Castrucci de Vernazza, op. cit.
2. Informe del Ilmo Sr. D. Fr. Manuel Plaza" in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 293.
3. Antonio Raimondi. El Perú, 3 vol., Lima, 1874-80, in-8°, vol. III, p. 274.
4. This itinerary has been published by Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. III, p. 402.

1874, two Peruvian hydrographic commissions went up by steam boat and studied a large part of the courses of the Morona and Pastaza (5). As for the work of evangelization, that was [348] begun only after the return of the Jesuits. It was in 1869 that the famous Company signed a contract with the second Ecuadorian provincial council which was approved in 1871 by the pope, for the establishment of missions at Canelos and Macas, which had been taken from the Dominicans, on the Napo, at Gualaquiza, and at Zamora. The monks, full of enthusiasm, attempted immediately to perform the work that their predecessors of the 17th century had not been able to accomplish. Early in 1869, Fathers Ambrosio Fonseca and Manuel Guzmán went to install themselves at Canelos; in 1870 Fathers Andrés J. Pérez and Nicolás Soberón settled at Macas and Fathers Louis Pozzi and Domingo Garcí at Gualaquiza. Only Zamora was momentarily abandoned. Vain efforts! Three years later Gualaquiza had to be abandoned because of the armed

5. "Parte del Capitán de corbeta graduado D. Mariano Adrian Vargas en el viaje de exploración hecho a los rios Alto Marañon y Morona" (El Peruano of December 21, 1867). --Raimondi. El Perú, op. cit., vol. III, p. 281, 369, 474 and 518. --Von H. Habenicht. "Die peruanischen Expeditionen zur Erforschung des oberen Amazonstroms und seiner Nebenflusse" (with a map) (Dr. A. Petermann's Mittheilungen, 25th vol. 1879, p. 89).

uprisings of the Jíbaros (6), and in 1885 it was Macas' turn. Then the ecclesiastical authority intervened again, October 4, 1886, in order to give the missions of Macas and Canelos to the Dominicans, leaving to the Jesuits only the establishments on the Napo. Since 1893, the Franciscans on their side have taken charge of the mission of Zamora and on February 8, 1893, the apostolic vicarship of Mendez and Gualaquiza was created and entrusted to the Salesian group.

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6. Pozzi, op. cit. --R. Caceres S. J. La Provincia oriental de la República del Ecuador. Apuntes de viaje. Quito, 1892, p. 39.
--Padre L. L. S. S. J. La Misión del Napo. Quito, 1894, p. 11.

12: Rivet--348-349 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 175, 414

Such is the present state of things: need I add that all these efforts hardly produced any serious results and that the conversion of the Jibaro is not begun ? However, thanks to these missions we know a great many interesting details [349] about these savages so stubbornly resistant to all civilized influences. On the other hand, the numerous explorers who have penetrated these unknown regions in the second half of the 19th century have brought back ample harvests of ethnological and geographical documents. These accounts of missionaries and explorers have attracted the attention of ethnologists to the Jibaros and these ethnologists have devoted some more or less important articles to them. Here I will only mention Hamy's memoir. To this author goes the honor of having first coordinated the scattered accounts relative to these curious Indians, given a complete study of mummified heads, and discussed the important problem of the origin of this great tribe (1).

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1. E.-T.-Hamy. Decades Americanae. Memoires d'archéologie et d'ethnographie américaines, 3rd and 4th Decades, p. 43. "Nouveaux renseignements sur les Indiens Jivaros" (article published in the Revue d'Anthropologie, vol. II, July 1873, p. 385.)

The list of Jibaro tribes is very long and varies considerable with different authors; this abundance and this confusion are due to the fact that each Jibaro group, no matter how small, takes a special name from the name of the river which passes near his habitual abode. The result is that there are as many tribes as small streams of water in the three basins of the Santiago, Morona and Pastaza. Moreover, certain explorers have extended the domain of the Jíbaro race too far. For instance, Paul Marcoy reports that the Panos, who live on the banks of the small Sarayacu River, a left-hand tributary of the Ucayali, are probably native to the regions washed by the Morona and must have come to settle first at the mouth [350] of the Huallaga River, before occupying the region where the lucky explorer arrived just in time to see that last Pano of pure race and preserve his features for us. The hybrid descendants of these Panos are probably the Remos, the Amahuacas and the Sensis on the right bank of the Ucayali, the Cacibos, the Conibos, the Sepibos and the Schetibos on the left bank. Doubtless, he is attempting to derive the word "Pano" from the word "Upano", but it seems to be only a coincidence, and I have not been able to recognize in the customs of the Panos, as described by Marcoy the special customs of their supposed ancestors, the Jibaros (1). I

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1. Marcoy, op. cit., (Le Tour du Monde, vol. X, 1864, 2nd half-year, pages 59, 161, 185 and 186).

have already enumerated the arguments which have made me eliminate the Jeberos from the Jíbaro family; for the same reasons, I think that the Aguanos, encountered by Herndon on the banks of the Huallaga River, should not be included in it (2).

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2. Lieut. W. M. Lewis Herndon, Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon (with a map). Washington, 1854, in-8°. Velasco makes the Aguanos a separate nation with a special language. Velasco, op. cit., vol. III, page 252.

I have tried, by making use of all the documents that I have been able to procure, to determine approximately the geographic location of a certain number of tribes. I do not think that this determination is complete or definitive. In fact, such work will be possible only when all those vast territories have been explored; at the present, except for the rivers which can easily be navigated in canoes and the course of which is known well enough, the Jibaro country is still very little known. To get an idea of the uncertainty of our information, it suffices to compare the two most recent and most complete maps of these regions: those of Wolf and of Vacas Galindo (see note 1, page 338 - page 7, note 1, of my typewritten copy). Into the areas found between the navigable streams the white man struck out against almost unsurmountable obstacles: the absolute absence of roads, the difficulty of transporting supplies, which must be done on human backs, the rarity of inhabited places and the difficulty of revictualling, the hostility of the savages, the continual rains, the insalubrity of a warm and humid climate, the frequency of torrents which must be forded or swum, the bites of mosquitoes, all contribute to discourage the explorer. Hardy rubber-hunters venture alone into the virgin forest, spurred by the certainty of considerable profit, or perhaps rare missionaries still animated by a sincere need for apostleship. [351]

The few villages where the Whites have tried to settle are: Canelos, Macas, Gualaquiza and Zamora. Each of these communicates with the inter-Andean region. The Canelos road crosses the Eastern Cordillera by the gap that the Pastaza River opens

there at the north foot of the Tunguragua volcano. From Baños to Canelos, one must count on eight days of travel, six of which have to be made on foot(1).

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1. Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. III, p. 161.

12: Rivet--351 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 131

Macas is reached by a road which runs from Riobamba to Hatillo (2 days on horseback), to Suña (1 day on horseback), to Chanala, Paira and Guilca (about 5 days on foot) (1).

From Cuenca to Gualaquiza, by the village of Sigsig, la Portada and Chiguinda, four days are enough for the journey when the season permits making the stages by horseback (2).

Finally, from Loja to Zamora, only two days on foot are necessary.

Direct communication between these diverse villages is very difficult. From Canelos to Macas by the montaña, that is to say the virgin forest, ten days are necessary, and from Gualaquiza to Zamora one ought to count on about five or six days of travelling.

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1. Colección de cartas sobre las misiónes dominicanas del Oriente, 2nd edition, Quito, 1890. First map.
2. Luis Cordero. Una excursión a Gualaquiza. Cuenca. August 4, 1875.

12: Rivet--351 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 131

Canelos is a little village, which in 1890 had a population of about 800 people. It is situated on the left bank of the Bobonaza, a left-hand tributary of the Pastaza, 145 kilometers as the crow flies from this confluence. Downstream from Canelos, a day's trip by river, one encounters the small inhabited center of Pacayacu (85 inhabitants); two days from Pacayacu, Sarayacu (1) (460 inhabitants), and finally two days by canoe from Sarayacu, the village of Juanjiri, almost uninhabited, as is Andoas, a former settlement found at the juncture of the Pastaza and Bobonaza (2). I have not been able to procure either the mean temperature nor the altitude of Canelos, but the German explorers, Reiss and Stübel, found at the juncture of the Pintuc river and of the Pastaza, 20 or 25 kilometers SW. of Canelos, a mean temperature of 20°4 and an altitude of 981 meters(3).

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1. This Sarayacu should not be confused with another village of the same name situated on the Ucayali. See Castelnau. Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud, vol. IV. Histoire du Voyage, Paris 1851, in-8°, page 371.
2. Colección de cartas sobre las misiónes dominicanas, op. cit. Maps 4 and 7.
3. Teodoro Wolf. Geografía y Geología del Ecuador. Leipzig, 1892, page 651.

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Macas in 1890 had a population of 350 "macabéos" (1), a name given generally to the white settled in these eastern regions. It is situated a little ways from the right bank of the Upano, at an altitude of 1,051 meters, according to Reiss and Stubel (2).

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1. Colección de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Map 4, page 31.
2. Wolf, op. cit., p. 592.

Gualaquiza is hardly more important; in 1875, there were only 100 whites in this village and 80 Jíbaros (1); in July, 1906, the Salesians counted more than 500 individuals of all races (2). It is built on the left bank of Gualaquiza River, which, ten kilometers lower, runs into the Bomboiza. The mean temperature is 22°5 and the altitude 730 meters (3).

As for Zamora, it is located on the right bank of the river of the same name, near its juncture with the Bambuscara. Although I have been unable to procure any exact information, one can surely state that this village is even smaller than Gualaquiza.

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1. Cordero, op. cit., page 28-29.
2. Bulletin Salésien, no. 5, May, 1907.
3. "Carta del misionero Salesiano D. Jacinto Pancheri", published in the newspaper El Republicano of Quito, Nos. 94, 98, 106 and 117, 1893-94.

We already know that the very general names of Pastazas (V_1) (1), Moronas (V), and

1. A- "Informe de P. Fr. Bartolomé de Alacáno de Alacáno," op. cit.

B- José Felix Barriero. Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London. New Series, 1863, vol. II, page 112.

C- Castrucci, op. cit.

Co- Cordero, op. cit.

D- Colección de cartas sobre las misiónes dominicanas, op. cit.

M- Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur, op. cit.

Ma- Maldonado, map cited.

MM. - Marcel Monnier. Des Andes au Para-Equateur, Pérou, Amazone. Paris, 1890 (with a map).

P- Proaño, op. cit.

Pr- Prieto, op. cit.

R - Raimondi. "On the Indian Tribes of the great district of Loreto," etc., op. cit.

S - Bulletin Salésien.

V- Velasco, op. cit. vol. III, p. 175 and 251.

V_1- Manuel Villavicencio. Geografia de la República del Ecuador. New York, 1858, page 169, and map cited.

Santiagos (VI) are applied to the tribes living along the three principal fluvial arteries.

The Upanos (V_1), the Pautenos (V) or Pautes (VI), the Cualaquizas (V_1), and the Zamoras (V_1) inhabit the banks of the four principal affluents of the Santiago, and the Yaguarzongos (V) are mingled with the Zamoras (V_1). [353]

The name of Logroños (V_1) was formerly applied to the tribes who lived in the vicinity of the unhappy town which they destroyed, just as that of Canelos (V), the Macas(V) include all the Jibaros in the regions which have for centers the small villages of the same name.

Let us now take successively each of the great basins.

Basin of the Pastaza. The Cubillines (V) lived formerly in the cordillera of Cubillin, the origin of the Upano, the Palora and the Llusino; the Huamboyas (V) or Huambogas (B) inhabited the chain of mountains located more to the east, between the sources of the Palora and the Llusino, north of the Sangay volcano; the Paloras (V) along the Palora river. The Achuales (V_1), Uchuales (M), Achmiles (B), or Achuelos (M.M) constitute a great tribe, which occupies the whole right bank of the Pastaza from the Achual River to the confluence with the Bobonaza. It was these people who annihilated Andoas. The Maxumbaras (C), found a little above this confluence, must be a part of the Achuales.

The Pindos (V_1) have been visited and studied by Reiss and Stübel, later by Simson, on the banks of the stream of Pintuc or Pindo. Downstream from this tribe, the Copatasas (V_1) wander between the Copataza River and the Pastaza, and the Capahuaris (V) in all the territory between the Bobonaza to the N.E. and the Copataza to the S.W; the Jíbaros of the Pingullu (D), on the banks of the watercourse with the same name, seem to belong to this last group.

Finally, the Muratos (V) and Machines (C) occupy all the region sprinkled with lakes, which extends between the Pastaza on the east, the Morona on the west, and the Marañon on the south; to the north, they go up to the southern limits of the Achuales (1). They are found for ten days' journey up the Pastaza River. Thanks to the information furnished

1. Markham wrongly included the Muratos with the Záparos. Markham, op. cit., p.176.

by Father Castrucci, Colonel Proaño, Raimondi, Luccioli (2) and Marcel Monnier, we are thus able to localize this important tribe which extends as far as the left bank of the Pastaza. The Guazagas (V) [354] are a section of this tribe, living on the banks of the Huasaga River, a right-hand tributary of the Pastaza.

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2. Colini, "Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari," op. cit., page 5.

Basin of the Morona. The Chirapas (V1), or Chiriapos (P) live between the Palora and the Miazal and extend along the upper course of this last river, while the Miazales (P) occupy all the lower course.

The Chihuandos (D), to the south of the Chirapas, occupy the mountainous region where the tributaries of the right bank of the Aincicaimi and Maembaimi Rivers have their sources and the banks of these rivers themselves; the Cherembos (P), still more to the south, live between the Upano and the Mutiacahi and on the sources of the latter, 17 kilometers east of Macas. The Cangaimes (Co) wander along the banks of the Cusulima or Kangaimi, and on the banks of the Mangosisa, are the Mangosisas (P), of which one tribe, the Patucas(R) (doubtless the Batucos of von Hassel (1)), inhabits the extreme lower part of the course, almost at its confluence with the Cusulima. Farther down, one finds successively the Kanduaschis or Kandoashis (D) at the sources of a small left-hand tributary of the Morona, the Cetuchi, doubtless the Siduchi of Wolf, then the Ayulis (P) on the upper Morona, the Ayuli River and the lower course of the Cusulima, and finally the Tigüirmas (P) a little below these last. It is probable that these three peoples

1. Jorge M. von Hassel. "Las Tribus salvajes de la región amazónica del Perú" (Boletin de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, vol. XVII, 3rd part, 1905, pages 27-73).

are parts of the Muratos and Machines.

On the right bank of the Morona, the great tribe of the Huambizas (R) or Guambizas (B) occupies all the space between this river to the east, the Marañon to the south and the Santiago to the west; their northern limit is probably a line passing to the south of the Zhuizha River, for according to a Dominican missionary, in the region of this stream, between the Santiago and the Morona, the country is completely uninhabited (2). The Mayas (D) are without doubt a tribe of the Huambizas, established on the banks of the Amaya.

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2. "Censo de los Jíbaros que pertenecen a la misión de Macas, levantado en 1890," by Rev. Father Delgado, in: Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. III, page 416.

Basin of the Santiago. This basin is one of the most complex.

The Zuñas (V) and the Pairas (V) formerly lived in the regions [355] where today the small settlements of Zuña and Paira are found on the way from Riobamba to Macas, and the Copuenos (V) and Aguayos (V) a little downstream, on the Upano (1).

On the left bank of the same river, we find the Yuquipas (V) on the tributary of the same name to the east of Macas; the Nazangoras (P) along the Upano opposite the mouth of the Tutanagoza, and to the south of this tribe, the Chiguasas (A) on the little river of the same name. As for the Turumbisas (V), perhaps they ought to be considered as the residents of the neighboring river, the Tundumbisa.

On the right bank of the Upano, the Jurumbaini (B) lived about three hours distance from Macas, the length of the small stream of Jurumbay or Jurumbaino; the Arapicos (D), Agapicos (V_1) or Alapicos (V_1) on the little river of the same name; the Guambinimas (B) in the area delimited by the Zhungaimi River, Tutanagoza River and Arapicos River; the Tutamagosas (B) or Tutanangoras (P) on the Tutanagoza.

On the Paute River I have already mentioned the Pautenos (V) or Pautes (V_1); then come the Chupiansas (S) along the Chupiansa, and the Mendes (B) in the territory bathed by the little rivers of Tayuzha and Zazhapasa.

1. "Informe sobre las provincias de Quijos, Avila, Canelos y Macas, por el Gobernador de Macas Don Josseph de Basabe y Urquieta" (May 1, 1754), in Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. I, page 61.

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In the basin of the Zamora are the Bombasicaros (V) on the Bambuscara, a tributary on the right bank; on the left bank, south of Gualaquiza, the Pachicosas (S) or Paricosas (Co), above the Chuchumbleza River; on the right bank of the latter, the Chuchumblezas (S); on the right bank of the Bomboiza, the Naranzas (S); between the Cuchipamba and Cuyes Rivers, the Jíbaros of Tuledu (S), then the Indanzas (S) and the Yunganzas (S) on the two little rivers of the same name.

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On the Santiago proper we find, on the left bank, the Jíbaros of Mayalico (Pr) on the banks of the Zhuizha river, and the Benerizas (V), on the Beneriza river; on the right bank, the Iranbisas (V) and the Iranasas (V) on the little rivers of the same names; then, near the Marañon, on the extreme lower course of the Santiago and between that and the Morona, live the Patocumas (S) [Patocumos (S), Patucumas (Co), Pafocamas (Pr)]. The name of Patucumayas (D) is evidently applied to the two united tribes of Patocumas and Mayas, the location of which I have described before. I think that both should be included with the Huambizas. [356]

To the east of the mouth of the Santiago lives the great tribe of the Antipas (R)[Nantipas (Pr)], who extend up into the Cordillera of Condor. Like the Huambizas, they spread southward on the right bank of the Marañon, where the traveller Luccioli has reported out their presence between the Nieva River and the mouth of the Santiago (1).

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1. Colini, "Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari," op. cit., page 5.

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Then, there is one last important tribe, the Aguarunas (R) [Ahuarunes (Ma)] whose habitat is exclusively on the right bank of the Marañon. According to Raimondi and Luccioli, they should be located to the south of the Pongo de Manseriche, in the vast territory between the Nieva River and the Potro River. Wertheman reports that previously they lived at the mouth of the Chuchunga (1); they must therefore have emigrated from the west to the east.

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1. Arthur Wertheman. "Aufnahme der Flüsse Paranapura und Cahuapanas im Departamento de Amazonas der Republik Peru" (with a map) (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fur Erdkunde zu Berlin, 15th vol. 1880, page 211).

12: Rivet--356 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
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These are the principal Jíbaro peoples whose location may be determined at present without too many chances of error. It suffices to compare it with the list given by Velasco in order to understand how incomplete is the work that I have attempted. It was impossible to locate on the map in a precise manner many of the tribes reported by modern travellers or missionaries. Such are the Oyocamas (A), the Achuras (D), the Zhomos (D), the Mexipuras (A), and the Jambas mentioned by M. Fabre (1), who all belong to the Macas group, the Jíbaros of Chiceni (Co) who live on the Zamora (2), the Tambos or Tumbas (B), the Chiguavidas (B), and the Jíbaros of Suinde (Pr).

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1. Hamy, op. cit., note 2, page 46.
2. "Informe del Ilm. Sr. D. Manuel Plaza," in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 293.

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116, 161

All these tribes are far from having an equal numerical importance, many are composed of only 100 to 200 individuals. In 1890, the Jurumbaini numbered 68 representatives, the Arapicos 82, the Tutumagosas 140, the Guambinimas 132, the Cocpianosas 165, the Mendes 144, the Pautes 180, the Yunganasas 90, the [357] Yuquipas 453, the Chihuasas 162, the Huasagas 280, the Huamboyas 500, the Copatasas 83, the Capahuaris 172, the Kangaimes 64, the Mangosisas 56, the Miasales 68. At the same time, there were 3,051 Jíbaros in the basin of the Upano and the upper Morona (1), of which 600 men were old enough to carry arms, that is to say older than 15 years. Ten years before the same tribes were able to send 2,000 men to war.

In 1890, there were 2,069 infidels and 1,371 Christians on the Pastaza and its tributaries (2). If one deducts from this last figure the population of Canelos, Sarayacu and Pacayacu, one finds that the number of converts among the nomadic tribes was 26!

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1. "Censo de los Jíbaros que pertenecen a la misión de Macas," in Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. III, p. 413.
2. Colección de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Map 4, page 31.

The Salesians think that there are 9,790 infidels (1) in their vicary of Mendez and Gualaquiza, a figure which appears a little exaggerated. In fact, some experienced missionaries estimate that in all the Jíbaro country there are not more than 10 to 12,000 souls. For my part, on having counted up the figures given by von Hassel (2) for the Aguarunas (2,000 to 2,500), the Muratos (5,000), the Antipas (2,000), the Huambizas (800 to 1,000), I think that one can admit a maximum of about 20,000 inhabitants, of which, according to the proportion of Padre Vacas Galindo, there would be about 4,000 adults able to carry arms (3). But in 1599, according to ancient historians, there was an army of 20,000 rebels who assailed Logroño (4), and Osculati (5) estimates the Jíbaro population at a half million. To be sure it is necessary to take into account the exaggerations of the chroniclers, and the error in estimation of the Italian explorer is so manifest that there is no need for pointing it out, nevertheless it is none the less true

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1. Bulletin Salésien, no. 5, May 1907.
2. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 34, 40 and 46.
3. Padre Enrique Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima. Religión, usos y costumbres de los Salvajes del Oriente del Ecuador. Ambato, 1897, page 183.
4. Velasco, op. cit., vol. III, page 154.
5. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 29.

that the number of savages has diminished in an unheard-of manner since the first times of the Spanish conquest. This diminution continues in our time. I have already cited the example of the tribes in the basin of the Upano. Pointing out another: in 1888, the Jíbaros of Capahuari numbered 172 individuals, and those of Copataza 83, being in all 255 Jíbaros. The following year, at the end of an [358] internal war, there remained at most 100 (6). The constant hostilities between tribes, the contagious diseases, smallpox in particular, brought by the Spanish, and alcoholism explained this strange disappearance to a great extent; but as these conditions are found together in many sections of the world, where the natives of the country continue to multiply nevertheless, it is necessary to admit that the fatal law, which brings death to the Indian everywhere that one finds him in contact with the Whites, must have other deeper causes that we do not know. As for the Jíbaro, it is very difficult to invoke the law of selection, for, as we shall see, he is, from all points of view, endowed with qualities which would seem to reserve for him a better fate and a brighter future among the indigenous American peoples.

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6. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 184.

12: Rivet--358 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 141, 152

Physically, the Jíbaro represents the most handsome and most robust Indian type that I have seen in the Republic of Ecuador. Their fiery manner, even arrogance, makes them appear bigger than their brothers of the Sierra. In reality, this is simply an illusion, for those that I have met were of small stature and the two individuals that I studied were respectively 1^{m} 63 and 1^{m} 59 (1) (fig. 3). Their body is in general very well developed; the muscles of the limbs give an impression of suppleness and of strength. Their skin is light brown (2) (no. 22 according to my two subjects by the chromatic scale of Broca). The cephalic index according to my measurements was 82.0 for one and 84.1 for the other. Their craniums would therefore be classified among the subbrachycephalic.

1. These two Jíbaros came to Riobamba from the region of Macas. The complete measurements that I took on them will be studied later.

2. A great many authors have pointed out the clear tint of the Jíbaros and the presence of the beard among a certain number of them, characteristics that they have attributed to the mixtures resulting from the abductions of the white women from Logroño and Sevilla de Oro. The same remark has been made about the Ayulis (Vargas, op. cit.). I have not ascertained the fact from any of the individuals that I have examined.

12: Rivet--358-359 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 142

The face is wide, as is the forehead which is straight and fairly high, the brow ridges are not pronounced, the eyes are large and horizontal, the iris dark brown (no. 1 by Broca's chromatic scale in my two subjects), the cheek bones laterally widened. [357] The nose is straight, wide, and flat. I have found as the nasal index: 85.7 and 74.3. One of my Indians was therefore platyrrhine and the other mesorrhine. The mouth is not large and the lips are not thick; there is no prognathism. The neck is short. Their hair, a beautiful black, is coarse, rough to the touch, stiff, straight, and hanging. They do not have beards or moustaches.

12: Rivet--359-360 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 304

The mutilations are as follows: the men and women [360] have the lobes of their ears pierced in a manner so as to be able to insert bamboo tubes. In addition to this, the women have a perforation in the middle of the lower lip, where they insert a little piece of wood similar to a tooth pick and sometimes a little pompon of brilliant feathers. This perforation also serves to take care of their needles (1).

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1. W. Reiss. "Ein Besuch bei den Jívaros Indianern" (Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft fur Erdkunde zu Berlin, vol. VII, 1880, page 332.)

12: Rivet--360 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 302, 386

The Jíbaros like to paint the uncovered parts of their body (face, breast, arms and legs), perhaps in red with the seeds of the manduru (Bixa orellana), or in bluish black with the fruit of a tree called zula or piú-piú (Genipa oblongifolia) (1). Most often, the face paintings assume the form of transverse rays frequently augmented with indentations, and they are red and black indifferently. Those on the breast and stomach are generally black and are made up of squares or simple designs; but sometimes on the breast one find a transverse line from which are detached some ornaments, the arrangement of which, difficult to visualize, is obtained in the following manner: the design is deeply engraved upon a wooden cylinder, about 6 centimeters long and 1 centimeter to 1-1/2 thick. The crevices are filled in with color given consistency by the addition of bird fat. Thus prepared, the cylinder is rolled on the body, pressing it down very hard with the hand, and it imprints the ornaments on the body. The designs made with the zula juice become black little by little on contact with the air, without doubt by slow oxidation; they last 8 to 10 days and even resist energetic cleanings. The designs made with munduru, on the contrary, are effaced quickly and have to be constantly renewed (2). The savage attaches a great importance to this style. He also paints his teeth with zula.

1. By crushing the pulp of this fruit in warm water, one obtains a thick liquid, which, it appears, dyes white hair perfectly black. Cordero, op. cit. page 32.

2. Reiss, op. cit., page 332.

12: Rivet--360-361 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 302

The hair is worn long. According to Reiss, this custom was for the purpose of permitting the victor to grasp the head of his victim easily in order to separate it from its trunk; in that case, this hair-dress should be characteristic of the free man, and the women, children and the few prisoners spared should have the head shaved (1). This seems rational [361] among a tribe of warriors, but in Canelos, Macas, Gualaquiza, and Zamora, the women and children wear their hair long. The custom observed by Reiss therefore should not be made the basis for a generalization. The coiffure, always very well cared-for, is made up of three very, very tight plaits: one posterior plait or huango (a Quichua word), and two side plaits the thickness of a finger, which, beginning at the temples, descend the length of the cheeks, framing the face and falling on the breast. The hair on the forehead is cut straight a finger's breadth above the eyebrows. Sometimes one part of hair is twisted around the head in the form of a crown.

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1. Reiss, op. cit., page 335.

12: Rivet--361 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 291, 826

To conclude the physical description of the Jîbaro, I should mention the curious habit observed among the natives of Macas and perhaps general to all the tribes, of raising up the penis, by attaching it to a cotton thread which is fastened around the waist, for the purpose, they say, of keeping it out of the way in walking. (1)

1. Gonzalez Suarez points out this same fact among the old Indians of the province of Quijos. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, page 56. This strange custom exists still among certain savage tribes of the Napo basin.

12: Rivet--361[2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 157, 181

The Jíbaro does not have a submissive, humble, cringing appearance, I might almost say servile, like the civilized Indian; much to the contrary, everything in him reveals the free man, passionately loving liberty, incapable of putting up with the slightest subjection. The eye is lively, the look bold, the face mobile and expressive, their movements rapid and animated, their speech easy and assured. Unhappily this is not the appearance of the savage when he comes to spend a few days in the cities of the inter-Andean valley. Dulled by alcohol, tired out from the trip, painfully affected by the cold climate of the Sierra, usually clothed with indescribable faded finery, he takes on a grotesque appearance and loses his original character and his proud carriage, but as I have described him, so one finds him in the forests, in the midst of virgin nature, whose pure splendor forms a magnificent frame for the indomitable savage.

12: Rivet--361-362 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 291

The clothing of the Jíbaroa is extremely simple (fig. 4): the man wears a rectangular piece of cotton, the itipi, which he has woven and dyed of [362] coffee color with darker vertical stripes. 1m 40 wide and 84 cent., long, it is wound around the waist, one of the ends always being on the anterior median line, and it descends about half way down the calf. In order to dye the cotton the Indians soak it for some time in a tepid maceration of leaves from a plant called yamacali. The itipi is held at the waist by a cord or any sort of band. Around his head, the Jíbaro often wears a band of the same material, 7 cent. wide and 50 cent. long, called (i)taimata, terminated at each end by a fringe of 50 cent., which is rolled tightly around the back plait (fig. 7-i).

12: Rivet--362-363 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 293

The savage encircles his wrist with a bracelet formed by a coil of green snakeskin, the symbol of good luck, the cundo (fig. 7-19). He always has slung over his shoulder a small, almost rectangular bag called shigra (a Quichua word), made of cabuya (Agave americanum) fiber or palma chambira (Astrocaryum tucuma) fiber, in which he keeps his accessories [363] for hunting and for his toilet, his mirror, his paints, his comb, etc...The shigra is made of string. The one pictured (fig. 8-7) measures 20 cent. long and 23 cent. wide; it is of deep straw color upon which are 7 transverse brown-red stripes. The spear is the inseparable companion of the Indian.

12: Rivet--363 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 301

As an ornament, in ordinary times, he only wears tubes of bamboo or jarusa, which are stuck into the lobes of the ears. I possess one of them which measures as much as 25 cent. in length and 16 millim. in diameter and at their extremities, they have some coarse black designs (fig. 5) made with a bad knife. Sometimes the Jíbaros make these designs by burning the wood.

It is into the ends of these bamboos that the men generally stick their needles.

12: Rivet -363 [2] (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 291, 302

The clothing of the women is not very different. It is composed of one approximately square piece of cotton, $1^{m}60$ on the side, analogous to the itipi and called tarachi. The middle of one of the sides passes under the left arm and the two extremities are fastened on the right shoulder with the aid of a big pin called tupo (a Quichua word). The ends of this square overlap along the right side of the body, thanks to a band wound around the waist. The garment descends half way down the calf. The two arms and the left shoulder are bare, while the right shoulder and the breasts are covered. Nursing infants are carried either at the breast or on the back, under the tarachi. The coiffure does not differ from that of the men, except that sometimes, instead of forming a back plait, the women let their hair fall on their shoulders.

12: Rivet--363-365 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 292, 301

The festive clothing of the Jíbaro is as complicated as the daily costume is simple. I have been able to procure for myself the complete ceremonial ornaments of a chief called Yumala, the names and exact descriptions of which follow.

The crows are three in number.

Tauas or taguaza (fig. 7-11) a flat circlet, somewhat like [365] the brim of a hat without a crown. The circlet is formed by a series of concentric circles made of vegetable fibers joined together by cotton threads. A band of feathers adorns the circumference, the upper side is covered with the plumage of birds (callistes [JP: humming-birds] of various kinds), and from the lower side hang small ornaments made of feathers, of various seeds and of the eletra of coleoptera (Euchroma gigantea, Linnaeus).

Tendema (fig. 8-6). Crown of cylindrical form, 6 cent. high, formed of a fabric of hard and resistant fibres covered on the outside with breasts and stomachs of Rhamphastides [JP: toucans] in red, white and yellow feathers. Diameter: 19 cent.

There is also a third kind of crown made of a fine, furry monkey-skin.

12: Rivet--365 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 292, 301

Scoanga (fig. 7-9). A small band of cotton, 1 1/2 cent. wide and 46 cent. long, having at its extremities a cluster of brilliant feathers and four very long tassels of hair; it is twisted around the back plait in such a manner that the feathers form a kind of pompon at the base of the plait.

Tayucunchi (tayo: kind of bird, cunchi: bone) (fig. 7-10). A magnificent ornament 1^{m} 15 long and 18 cent. wide, composed essentially of a fabric made from the femurs of a bird called tayo (Nyctidromus?) juxtaposed in transverse rows. On the specimen that I possess I have counted 240 femurs aligned in 7 bands placed one above the other; 140 [JP: sic] birds have therefore been employed in the making. The bones are strung on cotton threads. Each row is separated from the neighboring one by a narrower row of small brownish seeds. On this unusual woof of ivory whiteness callistes [translation: humming-birds] in iridescent colors are placed, while from the lower extremity hang eleven superb toucan feathers and some eletra of Euchroma. This elegant ornament is worn on the back, suspended from the head by a little band of cotton which encircles it and which is itself covered laterally with skins of Rhamphastides and bears in front, at the place corresponding to the forehead, a beautiful bird crest with bluish black reflections.

12: Rivet--365-367 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 301

The EAR PENDANTS are of various types, but all are worn suspended from the tubes of bamboo which pass through the lobes. These tubes have a small orifice in their anterior third, into which they put a slender piece of wood to which is affixed in T shape the thread which sustains the ornament. Once inserted, this piece [367] of wood is placed transversely against the orifice and it cannot come out again.

Kuishi (fig. 7-5-6). Ear pendants made from electra of Euchroma gigantea and Mallaspis antennatus, pierced at their bases and attached at different levels on a cotton thread. It measures about 36 cent. long and terminates on the bottom with a little pompon of brilliant plumes and sometimes with a tassel of human hair.

Another kind of ear pendant is ornamented with the taguaza. This is a stem 28 cent. long, around which, with the aid of a type of pitch, feathers are placed with adroit imbrication, black, red, yellow, etc., in succession (fig. 7-12-13). Like the kuishi, this ornament is terminated by a little tuft of hair. It is carefully kept in a tube of bamboo (fig. 7-14-15).

The NECKLACES are extremely varied.

Sué (fig. 7-2-3). Neck orament formed of mammal teeth, particularly of monkeys, the roots of which have been perforated in order to permit the passage of the thread.

Tumbumbe (fig. 7-7). Big string of beads 2 meters long, formed of white seeds called lagrimas de San Pedro (Coix lacryma, Gramineae) alternating with the latter alone (fig. 8-2). This necklace has the form of a figure 8, the same as almost all the necklaces of the Jíbaros. Fig. 9 explains the reason for this and shows the manner in which the Indians place these ornaments on the breast and the back.

Mulupishi (fig. 8-5). Similar to the preceding but even more complicated, since, instead of being composed of a single row of seeds, it is formed of a very great number of strings in juxtaposition, joined at the same place by many transverse cotton threads. On one of my specimens I have counted 114 strings, each of shich [368] measures 1^{m} 25 long, and the little blackish seeds which make them up are hardly as big as grains of millet. This ornament is worn like the tumbumbe and once in place, covers the front of the breast and the shoulders somewhat in the manner of a vest.

There are still other kinds of necklaces: one is formed of rattling Menispermaceae seeds attached like little bells to a cord (fig. 8-3), another has pieces of mother-of-pearl shells cut as the figure indicates (fig. 7-4), a third is made up of the seeds of Crysophyllum caimito (Sapotaceae), of Menispermaceae, and of Ormosia (?), and small pendants made of black seeds analagous to those of the mulupishi and terminated by

12; Rivet--367-368 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 301

Unionidae shells (fig. 8-4). A last necklace presents successive rows of monkey teeth, regularly separated by seeds of Phasioleae (Leguminosae) and Ormosia (?), little cocoanuts (Cocoineae), and some pieces of fern rachides (fig. 8-1).

Unduchi (fig. 7-20). Band of coffee-colored cotton like the itipi, measuring 60 cent. long, which is worn about the waist and which has a series of pendants 20 cent. long, of Coix lacryma seeds, terminated by big fragments of gastropod shells, cut in curvilinear triangles, which on striking together give a crystalline sound of little bells.

Acachula (fig. 7-8). Girdle formed of small plaits of human hair, juxtaposed and joined only in the middle and at their extremities by a cotton thread. One of the two specimens that I possess contains 75 and each one of them measures 1^{m} 50 long.

Maco (fig. 7-17). Ornament made of seeds of a forest tree that has not been determined, similar in form to a peach stone, and suspended from a common cord. When they are moved, they make a dry sound like castanets. They are worn either around the loins or at the knee for the dance.

Such are their many objects of ornamentation in which elegance equals originality. For the most part, they are common to both sexes, but used more by men than women. In Jíbaro country, the woman, considered as a slave without wishes or desires, knows nothing of elegance; the brave and strong male has preserved all his primitive privileges, and his omnipotence is more exaggerated by the isolation in which the various divisions of each tribe live.

12: Rivet--583 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 361

The Jíbaros never live united in villages. Their homes are found scattered in the middle of the forest. These settlements are never permanent; in fact, the savages change their residence frequently, every six years on the average (1). The dwelling is always located near a stream, in the middle of a little cultivated land; no defined road leads to it, and only the Indians are able to recognize the trace of a pathway invisible to strangers in the labryinth of trees and thick underbrush.

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1. "Informe del Ilmo. Sr. D. Fr. Manuel Plaza," in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 395.

Generally, there are many families living in a single house, usually about 15 people united by close family ties. The building has the form of an elongated ellipse (1) (fig. 10), the long axis of which measures 15 to 25 meters. The framework is made in the following manner: two posts about 4 meters high, placed in the foci of the ellipse, support a longitudinal ridge-pole, four other posts measuring about 3 meters in height, located on the periphery at the angles of the [584] rectangle inscribed in this ellipse, support two transverse longitudinal timbers which outline this rectangle. All this framework is of chonta wood (Bactris Iriartea) and the joints are secured with the aid of lianas. The walls (2) are made of cane-stalks (Guadua angustifolia) placed close together; in addition

1. It would be more exact to say that it represents a rectangle, the short sides of which are replaced by semi-cirles. Simson, among the Pindos, and Reiss, at Macas, saw a slightly different construction, in which only one of the short sides of the rectangle, the one corresponding to the rear part of the house, was semi-circular; the doors, as in the ordinary type, were made facing the ends of the long axis. One of the houses visited by Reiss was 26 m. long, 18 m. wide and $7^{m}50$ high. --Alfred Simson. "Notes on the Jívaros and Canelos Indians" (Journal of the anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1880, vol. IX, no. 4, page 385). --Reiss, op. cit., page 330.

2. In the regions of the Jíbaro country that can be called civilized, where the fear of attacks has disappeared, this wall has been done away with and the house is only a vast shed.

to this they are reinforced on the inside to a height of $1^{m}50$ from the ground by planks of chonta or caña about 5 cm. wide, arranged in such a manner that their joints never coincide with the interstices of the exterior wall. This precaution is for the purpose of preventing an enemy thrusting his lance through the fissures and striking the Jíbaro in his bed, which, as we shall see, is backed up against the partition. The battens are made of caña stalks spaced $o^{m}50$ apart and placed in diverging rays from the longitudinal beam to the peripheral beams; cross-beams placed at the same distance from each other complete the lattice work upon which the roof rests; the roof is formed of little bundles of straw called cambana or of leaves of a kind of Pandanus (cambaalga), skillfully imbricated from the edges toward the center.

There are also two doors placed at the extremities of the long axis of the ellipse, measuring about 2 meters high and 50 cm. wide. Sometimes, as an aid to defense, they are still more narrow. One of these doors is reserved for the women, the other for the men and this rule is never violated save for some very serious reason. We see there the first manifestation of the separation of the sexes, so accentuated in Jíbaro country.

12; Rivet--585 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 342, 356

The house proper is composed of a single room (1), sometimes divided by a transverse partition in the center; the floor is composed of the beaten earth, perfectly levelled and kept in a state of great neatness.

1. At Macas, Reiss saw houses divided into three rooms by transverse partitions: the outer room served as a reception room, the central room as the kitchen, the rear room as the bedroom. Reiss, op. cit., page 330-331.

12: Rivet--585[2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 352, 372

Around the post located at the focus of the ellipse near the women's door are found all the household utensils; the space between it and the door represents the kitchen. Here a sort of bamboo screen hangs from the roof, in which are placed the various culinary vessels. There are as many fires as families in the house. Each fire is made up of three big sticks of wood, 30 to 45 cm. in diameter and 3 to $3^{m}50$ long, placed at 120^{o} angles from each other and converging at the same point. It is there that the pot is placed: as fast as the sticks of wood are consumed, they are pushed little by little toward the center (1).

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 386.

The opposing post is a sort of clothes-rack for the men: it is there that they put their lances, hang up their snares and all their utensils and accessories of the hunt. There are also some smaller stakes driven into the ground here and there, on which the Jîbaro man hangs his various possessions. Baskets which he has woven himself (changuina) hang from the roof, to which they are attached by lianas; his ceremonial clothes, the trinkets which constitute real wealth for him are carefully stored there. Near the men's door is likewise found the tunduli (fig. 11); this is a trunk of a tree similar to palo de balsa(Ochromia piscatoria) about 1^{m} 50 long [586] and 40 cm. in diameter, hollowed out from one end by the aid of hot stones. The end is then hermetically sealed with the aid of a big round piece of wood. The instrument, along one side of the cylinder, has a single opening of square form, or three or four circular openings, or perhaps two openings facing each other and resembling in form and position the sound-holes of a violin. The apparatus is placed horizontally between two posts, with the aid of tightly-stretched lianas attached to its extremities, where two ear-like projections serve for this purpose. Sometimes they put it in a vertical position, suspending it from a tree and fastening it below to a stake driven firmly into the ground (1). The sound is produced by hitting the cylinder hard near the openings with a stick of wood, one end of which is wrapped with cloth.

1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 57.

12: Rivet--586-587 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 352, 513

The beds are placed along the wall, the head backed up against it and the feet turned toward the center of the dwelling. The women's beds are found near their own door, the men's on each side of the opposite door, but a little nearer the short axis of the ellipse, always because of the fear of an attack. Each bed is made of a wooden frame, lifted 30 or 40 cm. from the ground by four legs, across which bamboo stalks split lengthwise are laid close together (fig. 12). This frame measures about 1^{m} 60 wide and 1^{m} 20 long. The result is that when the Indian lies down on it, his legs are completely off the bed. Therefore, about 25 or 30 cm. from the foot of the little bed, there is a horizontal bar, or patachi, placed on two little forked sticks, upon which they place their feet. Immediately in front of this bar, a fire is kept continually burning in order to warm the legs of the sleeper, and also, according to Reiss, to [587] keep away the mosquitoes with its smoke (1). Doubtless both reasons are good, for the mosquitoes are plentiful and the savage sleeps without cloth or covering.

The beds of the women are a little different. They are longer and do not have the patachi. In addition they have two lateral partitions of bamboo and at the foot a little curtain of some kind of material which protects them from being seen. In some houses, the individual curtains are replaced by a wall of bamboo about 2 meters high which runs in front of all the women's beds so that one can pass from one to the other without being seen from the interior of the room.

1. Reiss, op. cit., page 331.

The utensils and furniture of this modest interior are few in number. They consist of flat, oval, wooden vessels (batea), pots of all sizes for chicha, hollow bowls (piningas), and very light fired clay jars (ichingans),[588] painted bright red on the inside (fig. 15). Sometimes these objects have pretty designs in red, black and straw color (fig. 13). The piningas destined to hold guayusa, a beverage of which I shall speak presently, have a small prolongation on the bottom to hold the leaves of the plant for making the infusion (fig. 14).

I have still to mention the low wooden stools called kutanga and finally the various weapons and implements of work: gun, ax, machete, and fish-hooks bought from the whites; lances, blowguns, shields, quivers which I will describe later, the loom for weaving, the spindles formed by a chonta fiber with a round piece of corozo (Phytelephas macrocarpa) serving as a spindle whorl (fig. 8-10), flutes, drums, trumpets of deer horn, fans made of large feathers for kindling the fire, wicker baskets which the women use to carry home the fruits and vegetables on their backs, and finally, the toilet accessories, pieces of mirror, combs, paint flasks; the combs or indashi are very elegant (fig. 7-16), the teeth are made from wild cane fibers, held in place by two pairs of small wooden sticks placed crosswise; the whole is fastened by a cotton thread wrapped around the various parts, forming a regular and pleasing design. The paint flask (fig. 7-18) is an oval calabash, big as an orange, pierced at one end. A stick, closely fitted to the hole, functions as a stopper and a brush.

12: Rivet--588 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 354

The Jívaro use seeds that they call sapatra for illumination. They come from a kind of Fevillea (Curcurbitaceæ), doubtless the Fevillea cordifolia. These seeds, flat and circular, 4 to 5 centimeters in diameter, are strung on a wooden rod so as to form a candle about 40 centimeters long. Since they are very oily, they give a slightly smoky but fairly bright flame: two of these candles suffice to light the house adequately. For night marches, they use copal torches.

12: Rivet--588-589 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 372

The savage procures fire by the method of boring or [589] whirling (fig. 16). Small holes are made in a board of soft and perfectly dry wood, in which the Indian whirls the pointed end of a stick of very hard wood. The friction causes the formation of a very fine wood powder which, as a result of the heat developed, finally bursts into flames. The operation is long and tiring and many individuals take turns before arriving at success.

12: Rivet--589-590 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 596

The inventory of personal property of the Jíbaro shows us that he [590] is generally very poor: if an individual possesses three changes of clothing, he is considered rich in his tribe.

12: Rivet--590 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 241

In the cultivated land which surrounds the house, there are a great many chontaruru plants (Guilielma speciosa), the fruits of which, with its yellow, nutritive, and tasty pulp, weighs 4,500 to 7,000 gr., an abundance of banana plants and manioc (Manihot aipi), sweet potatoes (Convolvulus batatas), and often maize and cotton.

12: Rivet--590 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 231

Near the house some small enclosures are reserved for the hens and hogs, the only domestic animals that the Jíbaro raises, outside of the dog, a few parrots and a few monkeys. There is not a house where there are not veritable packs of hounds. The animals are tied day and night to the foot of the women's beds, there being two, three and even more per bed. As they reproduce with difficulty in these regions, for what reason I do not know, the Jíbaros acquire them either from whites living in the vicinity or during the course of visits to the Ecuadorian sierra. The first concern of the savage, every time that he acquires a new boarder, is to force him to swallow a tobacco infusion, for the purpose of provoking abundant vomiting and to wash out the stomach completely. He has in fact noticed that in the mountains the dog subsists solely on filth, of which the vomiting purifies him to some extent. Then the training for hunting begins. I will point out to French hunters the method employed by the Jíbaro to punish lazy animals. He ties up his legs and leaves him several minutes, thus disarmed and incapable of moving, on an anthill. It seems that this cruel punishment gets remarkable results. The number of dogs that an Indian possesses enters into the estimation of his fortune in the same way as the number of his clothes, his pigs---and his wives.

12: Rivet--590-591 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 262, 252

The diet of the Jíbaros consists of manioc, maize, bananas, and game, which they keep in certain leaves which preserve them from decay, and of fish which they are able to smoke. Only the wild hog is esteemed. The domestic hog is most often raised for commercial purposes; the majority of Indians do not [591] eat its flesh because they consider it a dirty animal.

12: Rivet--591 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 263, 261

For cooking, they do not ordinarily use salt, not by preference, but because of the rarity of this product in the upper Amazon. Geophagy, which is very widespread, is without doubt related to this lack of salt. The natives ordinarily eat small balls of salt-petrous earth, but they occasionally make use of pieces of pottery (1). This custom is common to a great many tribes of the eastern regions, living under the same conditions. The little Indians of the Napo carefully hide little balls of clay between their toes, to regale themselves unknown to the missionary.

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1. This detail is noted in the report of the expedition made in 1785 by Vallano and Cuesta into the Jibaro country of Zamora, of which I will speak later. The Corregidor, having broken a piece of pottery in the house of a Jíbaro, was surprised to see the Indians present divide up the pieces and crunch them with manifest pleasure. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, note on page 22).

12: Rivet--591-592 (no date) 1907 Jívaro -1
116, 273

The common drink is chicha, a fermented beverage, usually made with manioc, but also with bananas, the fruits of the chontaruru, etc. It is indispensable to the Jívaro, who can withstand the privation of going without food for entire days, but does not know how to get along without his favorite beverage. In the course of his long war or hunting expeditions, if necessity demands, he gets along without anything but masato, that is to say fermented manioc paste carefully wrapped in a banana leaf, a small quantity of which mixed into water permits him to make an impromptu, pleasant, and strengthening beverage. Normally it is prepared by the women: it is called cooked or raw, depending on whether or not it has been cooked after fermentation. The first variety is stronger and has a better taste. The manufacture is as follows: the women take boiled pieces of manioc, crush them with their hands, then pound them on a batea with the aid of a piece of wood, and finally carefully chew the paste which, well mixed with saliva, is spit into a big clay pot containing cold water and a little fermented manioc. The mixture is stirred up with the hand and left to itself; in a few days it is ready. All the chichas, with various fruits from which they are made, are prepared in the same manner; they say that of chontaruru has a special taste. Daily the Jívaro drinks enormous quantities of this beverage; [592] it is with that he gets himself intoxicated in the course of feasts and celebrations. Needless to say, after alcohol appeared in the eastern forests, it

made terrible ravages. The savage, like the civilized Indian, has an invincible leaning toward intemperance (1). Need I add that the Whites have no scruples against encouraging them in this vice by putting at their disposal at exorbitant prices the ignoble cane brandy.

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1. However, Father Prieto wrote in 1815: "The Jíbaros are not drunkards and look upon the drunk man with scorn, a trait unusual among all the American Indians". Prieto. "Descripción de la provincia de los Jívaros," in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 65.

Besides chicha, the Jívaro frequently use three vegetable infusions: those of guayusa and natema and the decoction of tobacco.

Guayusa is a plant of the Aquifoliaceae family and of the genus Ilex (1). In steeping the leaves give a tonic and stomachic beverage which replaces coffee and tea. But the Jívaro also takes it every morning on an empty stomach upon getting up, and produces by a simple contraction of the diaphragm or even by putting his fingers in his throat, a veritable washing out of the stomach. Even the youngest children are accustomed to this strange habit and their mothers make them vomit by tickling their throats with a feather. It is therefore wrong to say, as certain explorers have claimed, that the infusion of guayusa has vomitive properties. It has no more than mate. The purpose of this daily operation is to get rid of the material remaining in the stomach on awakening, the Jívaro being convinced that it is injurious to the organism.

Natema (Banisteria caapi) is a vine which, on boiling in water for 24 hours, yields an infusion which when introduced into the stomach, deprives one of all feeling for three days, and provokes during this lethargy a profusion of dreams. The phase of insensibility is preceded by a period of excitation. We shall see later under what circumstances the savages have recourse to natema. The young man and children employ for the same

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1. Obras de Fray Vicente Solano, Barcelona, 1892, vol. I, page 429.

purpose the infusion of maicuma (2) (kind of Datura?) which is less active.

The tobacco decoction is frequently used as a [593] remedy or in certain manifestations of religious nature of which I will speak later.

The Indian also has a passion for smoking as often as he can, but this is another vice that he acquired from the whites. In fact, he uses only the tobacco that they sell him, making his cigarettes with the aid of dry maize or banana leaves. He never makes use of a pipe.

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2. Doubtless, the same narcotic that the Salesians call maiguá. I Jíbaros di Mendez e Gualaquiza, Equatore, Tipografia Salesiana. Turin, 1926, note 2 on page 6.

12: Rivet--593 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 462, 439

Generally-speaking, the Jíbaro depends very little on foreign industry. It is the women who mold the various household pots with the aid of a simple wooden palette, glaze them with the juice of certain plants, and bake them in an open fire, it is they who spin and weave the clothes, while the husband makes his magnificent ornaments himself. We shall see that he does not show less skill and patience in the manufacture of his weapons and hunting implements.

12: Rivet--593-594 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 411

The national weapon is the lance. It is shaped entirely from a single piece of chonta, a very hard wood of black color. It has a variable length: the five examples that I possess (fig. 17) measure 2^{m} 15, 2^{m} 36, 3^{m} 5, 2^{m} 15, and 2^{m} 38. Each one of them is composed of two parts: a cylindrical handle 2 cm. in diameter and a point which always has the shape of a triangular pyramid, the cut of which is sometimes an equilateral triangle 2 cm. per side, or a more or less elliptical triangle with a base sometimes 5 cm. 5 long. In the first case, the passage from the handle to the point is made without notable widening (fig. 17 -1-3), in the second case, there is a sudden widening at this point (fig. 17 -4-6-7). The length of the point varies considerably; on my five specimens it is respectively 49, 56, 42, 64 and 89 cm. In normal times, when he has nothing to fear, the Jíbaro carries a lance with a point no longer than 20 cm. The lances with long points are primarily designed for war. Along the lateral sides, the point sometimes has barbs that are quite deep with the opening toward the handle. On my specimens 3 and 6, there are two pairs: upon the first at 40 and 48 cm., and upon the second at 13 and 17 cm. from the end. Some of these lances (nos. 3, 6 and 7) have ornaments made of cotton thread and bird feathers, forming a veritable collar at the place where the handle terminates. It is probably at this point that the Jíbaro holds the weapon in order to strike. Lance no. 7 is ornamented with three narrow rings made of cotton thread along its point.

12: Rivet--593-594 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 411

This primitive weapon is tending to disappear, for now the Jíbaro can easily obtain iron spear-points. He attaches them with pitch to the end of a piece of very light white wood, which he paints red for more or less of its length with the aid of a vegetable substance called yucalipe.

The lance is a thrusting weapon but sometimes, although very rarely, it is employed as a missile.

The blowgun is more complicated in manufacture so that certain individuals have made a specialty of it. A tree trunk 4 to 5 meters long set at a certain distance from the ground, with the top smoothed off, serves as a work table for these artists. Upon this work-bench they place two carefully chosen, firm stalks of chonta side by side, of compact, black fiber, very dry and the proper length for the blowgun. The upper surface of these stalks is first leveled with a knife, then one of them is fixed solidly with little pegs or nails of chonta, and the Indian, using the second as a plane, rubs the two roughly-flattened surfaces together, putting set sand between them. This polishing operation lasts many days. This done, the movable piece is pinned down beside the first; then the artisan, stretching a cotton thread wet with manduru (Bixa orellana) [595] dye along the axis of one of them, raises it, and then loosens it so that a perfectly straight red line is traced by elastic ty on each surface. These lines serve as a guide on each piece for hollowing out a semi-cylindrical groove. This work is done with the aid of a hog tooth (Dicotyles labiatus) sharpened on stone in the form of a burin and tied to the end of a handle (fig. 18). This operation finished, the two pieces are joined together, face to face, so that the half-canal with which each of them is grooved forms by superposition the bore of the blowgun.

The outer surface of the instrument is carefully rounded with a knife, then, with the aid of fine, supple and resistant strips of tree bark 3 cm. wide, the two halves are joined together very strongly by a series of spiral turns; in addition the whole thing is

coated with a kind of tar that the Indian has melted in a pininga; then with admirable patience, he softens this coating by heating it bit by bit, and polishes it and smooths it with the soft inner surface of manioc rind. Finally, the artist needs only to finish the central groove, left very rough and uneven by the work of the burin. At the end of a narrow rod of chonta as long as the tube, he places a piece of the skin of a fish called raya and uses it to polish the interior. For the fish-skin, he presently substitutes some leaves of maize and finally a plug of cotton. This is the last operation in the laborious process.

Footnote to Fig. 18. Burin (1)

1. The drawing of the burin is extracted from: Luigi Pigorini. "Di alguni oggetti etnologici dell' Ecuador posseduli dal Museo preistorico ed etnografico di Roma" (Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Sér. 3. Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Vol. VI. Meeting of April 24, 1881). Pl. I, fig. 4. This object comes from the Muratos.

12: Rivet--595-596 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 411

The two blowguns in my collection measure 2^{m} 26, and 2^{m} 80 [596] (fig. 17 -2-5). The mouth of the first is made of a bone tube, that of the second is wooden. At one end the instrument has a projection on the outside which, at first glance, seems for the purpose of serving as a sight; that is not true: in fact, it is found on the same end as the mouth. Its purpose is to permit the Indian always to place his weapon in the same position at the time of shooting and thus always make the same correction in his arm.

With his blowgun, the Indian shoots little arrows, the ends of which are poisoned for a length of only 2 cm. They are little round rods 245 mm. long, $2^{mm}\cdot 5$ wide, terminating in a very sharp point. These arrows are kept in a quiver or tunda (fig. 8-9), a bamboo tube 28 cm. long and 65 mm. in diameter, the bottom of which is blocked with pitch; they are kept in place by a kind of straw mat which holds the tunda. Attached to this apparatus by vegetable fibers is a calabash containing huambulushi, a kind of cotton produced by Bombax ceiba [JP: kapate], and suspended by a string is the jawbone of a fish with very fine teeth (Serrosalmo Piraja) (1). At the time the arrow is shot, its posterior end is encircled with a round cotton pad of the same caliber as the bore of the blowgun, then he makes a circular saw cut 3 cm. from the point with the jawbone: the stricken animal, in struggling, breaks the arrow at this point of least resistance and only the poisoned part stays in the wound.

1. Colini. "Collezione ethnografica degli indigeni dell'alto Amazzoni," op. cit., page 39.

The poison looks like an almost liquid black paste. It is not made by the Jíbaros, who acquire it by exchange from the Ticunas, Yaguas or Orejones Indians of the Amazon (1). Depending on its origin, the poison is called ticuna, yagua or orejon. The first costs too much, so generally the last two are used. The savage prepares it specially in order to increase its potency. To this end, he searches for a nest of very venomous ants which he calls izula and places nearby his little pot of poison, being careful to connect its edge and the ground with little sticks. The ants go up along the latter and the Indian makes them fall into the pot with a long rod from a distance. When the collection is sufficient, he adds a little water to the poison, closes the vessel and over [597] a slow fire, cooks and reduces the mixture until the insects are in some measure dissolved.

These poisons do not generally have an action as rapid as certain people say, and in any case their effects vary greatly according to the kind of animal. The dog and the gallinazo (Cathartes sp.) [JP: turkey buzzard] are immune to it; the toucan and the hen resist more than a quarter of an hour; the pava (Penelope cristata), the pheasant and other birds survive ten minutes. Other animals succumb more rapidly. The roe buck in spite of his size is very sensitive to it: one Ecuadorian explorer told me of having

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1. See the subject of Amazonian poisons: Olivier Ordinaire. Du Pacifique à l'Atlantique par les Andes péruviennes et l'Amazone. Paris, 1892, page 267.

12: Rivet--596-597 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-2
116, 278

seen a buck wounded in the nose to fall dead two hundred meters farther. The effect on man is almost nil. The wounded Jíbaros heal themselves by sucking a piece of sugar cane.

12: Rivet--597-598 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 411

The shield is round and measures about 1 m. in diameter. It is either made of the skin of a big tapir (Tapirus americanus) or of a manatee (Manatus americanus), or of a very hard wood, usually cedar (Cedrela odorata) which lances can not pierce. Gonzalez Suarez says that the palo de balsa (Ochroma piscatoria), excessively light and elastic as cork, upon which the lance rebounds without penetrating, is also used (1). Reiss likewise points out the use of soft and light woods (2). Here is the description given by Uhle of a specimen brought back by the German explorer (3) (fig. 19).

"The shield is made of wood, light in weight and color,[598] and in the form of a round flat disc, the exterior surface of which is divided into three concentric circles, each of which projects slightly beyond the next, going from the center to the periphery. The semi-circular handle, which serves to hold it, is formed of three small curved sticks, fixed like pegs by their ends into the disk itself, and strongly attached together with the aid of a strip of cipó [JP: a liana] (?) or of bark which is wrapped around them."

1. Gonzalez Suarez, Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, page 212.
2. Reiss, op. cit., page 334.
3. Kultur und Industrie Sudamerikanischer Volker nach den im Besitze des Museums fur Volkerkunde zu Leipzig befindlichen Sammlungen von A. Stubel, W. Reiss und B. Koppel. Text und Beschreibung der Tafeln von Max Uhle. 2 vol. Berlin, 1889-1890, 2nd vol., pl. XXIV, fig. 5. It is the reproduction of this figure that we give here (fig. 19).

12: Rivet--598 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 411

The javelin used by the Jíbaros is one of the most unusual; it can be thrown with the aid of a propelling device (fig. 18) analagous to certain instruments described by A. de Mortillet (1). The javelin proper he says is comprised of a long handle of 76 cm. made of a stalk of caña brava (Guadua latifolia) which is perfectly smooth on the outside but full of an excessively light pith. One of the extremities is closed by a stopper made of a resistant wood, for that is what receives all the shock. Into the other extremity is fixed a chonta dart in the form of a very sharp triangular pyramid, about 22 cm. long: it is this part which is poisoned.

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1. Adrien de Mortillet. "Les Propulseurs à crochet modernes et préhistoriques" (Revue mensuelle de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris, 1st year, VIII, August 15, 1891, page 241.

12: Rivet--598 [2] (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 411

The spear-thrower is made of a piece of wood about 69 cm. long, with a groove hollowed on its upper side to receive the handle of the javelin; the rear end of the latter butts against the edge of the spear-thrower. The spear-thrower has a hole on its lower surface at the junction of its posterior and middle thirds, where the Indian puts his index finger in order to throw the javelin, as the illustration shows. The complete apparatus measures about 1 meter long.

12: Rivet--598-599 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 501, 396

The canoe is indispensable to the Jíbaro. Its construction is a long and laborious operation. For this purpose, the savage looks along the banks of a stream for the biggest tree, preferably a cedar (Cedrela ordorata), and fells it with his ax; this operation alone takes two or three days of work. Then he separates the part that he wishes to use from the trunk; then he levels off one of its sides with the ax and draws on it with carbon the form of the prow and of the [599] stern. The vessel is hollowed out little by little with the aid of fire, then finished with an adze. The keel is made by the same patient, slow procedure. The length varies from 6 to 20 m., the width from 40 to 60 cm., and sometimes attains 1 meter.

The oar is made from a plank 1^{m} 20 to 1^{m} 60 long, terminating in an oval-shaped palette, the whole cut from a single piece of wood.

The musical instruments in use among the Jíbaros are the tunduli which I have already described, the drum, the cuerno, the caracol, the flauta and the pingullu. The Aguarunas also have a violin with 3 strings (1).

The drum (fig. 8-8) is not the work of the Jíbaros; they acquire it by exchange from the Indians of the Napo who make a specialty of this manufacture. The barrel of the drum is hollowed out from a small log of cedro (Cedrela odorata) 175 mm. in diameter and 19 cm. long. The thickness of the walls does not exceed 1/2 cm. The skin used is that of the howling monkey, doubtless because the Indian imagines that the skin of this noisy animal ought to have a special sonority (2). The tension of the hide over the barrel is obtained almost as in European drums, by two narrow bands of wood joined together by strings. The apparatus is carried suspended from the neck by a cord and only a single drumstick is used.

The cuerno is a simple trumpet made with a deer horn; the caracol is made with a big shell; the flauta is a flûte traversiére [trans: a German flute], the pingullu a kind of flageolet or long wooden whistle, supplied with many holes, to permit the modulation of sounds.

1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 73.
2. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire, etc., op. cit., page 58.

We are now acquainted with the Jíbaro from the physical point of view, his manner of dressing, his home, his food, his weapons and implements, his musical instruments; it is now necessary for us to take a look at his life.

12: Rivet--599-600 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 512, 521, 201

The Indian is an early riser: at 3 o'clock in the morning he wakes up, and if he is[600] head of a family, his first concern is to repeat in a loud and spiritual voice the history of the tribe, the wars that it has carried on with the neighboring peoples, and the names of the relatives killed in these fights. He mixes into his account praise for his friends and himself and insults for his enemies, advice to the children so that they may some day become worthy of their father, that is to say that they be adroit hunters, that they raise good dogs, that they be hardy in expeditions and unrelenting in vengeance. (1) During this discourse, the Jíbaro keeps the closed left fist placed level with the lower lip against the chin (fig. 20). This discourse finished, the women give everyone the morning infusion of guayusa.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 75.

12: Rivet--600 -601 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 515, 302, 264

The hygenic operation finished [KS: morning infusion of guayusa], everyone washes, for the Jíbaro is clean, contrary to his brother of the sierra. As soon as he returns from the neighboring river, he makes his toilette in the house itself; he has the custom of putting water in his mouth, from which he spits it into his hands in order to wash his face and wet his hair; then he combs it carefully, for he likes to have his hair well-arranged and shiny. Then, while the women are preparing breakfast, he sets to work, either at the weaving of a garment, or the manufacture of his ornaments or his arms. At the end of about an hour the repast is ready: there are abundant piningas of chicha, some manioc and boiled bananas, and a piece of wild pig or of fish. After having [601] refreshed himself sufficiently, the Jíbaro paints his body and his teeth, puts on his customary ornaments, takes his lance, his blowgun or his gun, his little net, unties his dogs and for 4 1/2 or 5 hours in the morning hunts or goes to visit his friends in the neighborhood, during which time the women take their wicker back-baskets and armed with a little machete or a knife cultivate the surrounding land.

At 6 o'clock in the evening the Indian has always returned; one never meets him at night, normally. As soon as he gets back, his wives come in turn to present him with a bowl of chicha, which they stir with their hands before offering, and while the master drinks, they turn their heads, either because of respect, or out of habit.

12: Rivet--601
116, 868, 555

(no date) 1907

Jívaro

The Jíbaro hardly works at home two hours per day at the most. A skilled hunter and fisher, he passes his life outside. All his pride consists of being renowned for his dexterity and agility. All his efforts tend to maintain these precious qualities. From the age of seven on, the child practices handling the blowgun; to teach him the use of the throwing instrument, his parents make him little javelins from the stalk of the paja toquilla (Carludovica palmata). The little boys are lined up in two rows, a hoop of tree bark is thrown between them and each one tries to put his weapon through the center of the hoop. Thanks to this education, the Jíbaros can accomplish astonishing feats. A missionary saw them hit a target the size of a 5-franc piece with a lance at a distance of 20 meters (1)

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1. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain, etc..., op. cit., page 143.

12: Rivet--601-602 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 753, 276

A superstitious practice observed at Macas, and perhaps generally, shows the importance the savage attaches to remaining always in a perfect state of training. Believing that when he has sold his blowgun to a white man he has lost the strength of his lungs, he submits to the follow operation in order to regain it: he takes a bamboo tube 20 to 25 cm. long and 2 1/2 cm. in diameter, stuffs it with tobacco, and lights it. A friend places the lighted end in his mouth and blows hard into the tube. The smoke which comes out in abundance from the other end is swallowed by the patient who, with his mouth wide open, is seated opposite the apparatus (fig. 21). [602] Soon the sufferer falls narcotized, with abundant vomiting and in a real state of prostration, but a few hours later, he feels well and thinks he has recovered the power of his breath.

12: Rivet--602 -603 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 151

Other qualities make the Jíbaros marvelous men in the woods. All the travelers have pointed out the development of their sense of direction (1), so remarkable that they have been tempted to see in it a true instinct. In reality, this astonishing faculty rests on the observation of many details that escape the stranger, perhaps on the observation of the heavens; but above all it is the direction of the dominant winds, the location of mosses and lichens on bark, the curvature of trees, and the direction of stream currents which furnish the Indian the necessary elements for guiding himself through the vast forests with all certainty. Sight and hearing are developed in a remarkable manner. The ear of the savage permits him to interpret the least noise, his eye notices apparently insignificant details. The sense of smell is equally acute. However, it appears that the Zaparos excel the Jíbaros on this point; in fact they are capable of finding an [603] animal without constantly following his trail; and the missionaries often had occasion to make use of this unusual gift in order to find again those of their neophytes who, loving liberty more than theology, fled from the Mission settlement (2).

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1. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 345.
2. Simson, op. cit., page 390.

12: Rivet--603 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 151, 224

Perfect knowledge of the forest and its inhabitants, great power of observation, an inexhaustible patience, an unheard of endurance, make the Jíbaro a hunter without peer. Hunting the tayo (Nyctidromus), the femurs of which serve to make the ornament which I described under the name tayucunchi, is one of the biggest occupations. This very mistrustful bird lives in numerous bands and sleeps in caves in rock cliffs. When the Indian discovered one of these refuges, he goes late at night and closes the opening and smokes out the poor creatures or captures them all simply by hand.

12: Rivet--603-604 (no date) 1907 Jívaro -1
116, 226

For fishing the Jíbaros use the barbasco (Jacquinia armillaris). They make two or three holes in the ground where they put a great quantity of branches and roots of this plant, then armed with big pointed sticks, they crush them in order to form a sort of paste of the earth and the juice of the plant. During this time, other Jíbaros 150 or 200 m. downstream construct the atarraya: a barrage formed of interwoven sticks, securely set in the bed of the stream and extending the whole width of the latter, is instructed at a point where the gradient of the stream is steeper than elsewhere; it is destined to support the weirs. The latter are large parallelopiped rectangles made with sticks of cana guadua (Guadua angustifolia) and measure 3 m. long, 60 cm. wide. The apparatus is oriented against the current, the open forward end resting on the sream bed itself and the rear end on the dam. The barbasco paste is then thrown into the water, which becomes milky and soapy at its contact. The fish are stupefied in a few minutes, and rise to the surface, bellies upward. Swept along by the current, they are stopped by the traps. When the stream of water is too large to install an atarraya, the Indians catch the fish themselves, it is marvellous to see them swim with an indescribable dexterity, seize [604] the fish with their hands, teeth, even the feet and bring them to the canoe. Their skill is such that a missionary has seen them trap fish swimming without using barbasco. He also saw them beat the stream, divid- into two groups, so as to drive the fish toward one bank and harpoon them with lances

in the cavities of the rocks where they take refuge (1). Hunting of the manatee (Manatus americanus) and big fish (particularly the Vestres gigas) is also done with the lance.

1. Voyage d'exploration d'un missionaire dominicain, etc...., op. cit., p. 172-173.

12: Rivet--604 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 502

The Jíbaro is a skilled navigator. With his little canoe, braves the rapids of the most raging torrents, maneuvers the frail craft through rocks and whirlpools with a surety, a precision, and a calmness which all voyagers and missionaries agree in praising. The number of the oarsmen varies, according to the dimensions of the boat, from two to six. Each has a single oar in a seated or kneeling position. One Indian placed in the stern steers and keeps the canoe in the current with the aid of an oar.

12: Rivet--604 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 517

Outside of hunting and fishing, which constitute his principal occupation, the Jíbaro uses his time to visit his neighbors, relatives and allies; I will come back to these visits in connection with the social life.

12: Rivet--604 [3] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 551

The Jíbaros take their names either from the animal kingdom, (1) the vegetable kingdom, or sometimes mountains and rivers (2). We shall make as detailed a study of those we have been able to collect at the same time as the study of the language in a later memoir.

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1. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 161.

12: Rivet--604-605 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 595, 721

The Indians can marry as many women as they want to, but practice, although some do possess as many as eight (certain chiefs particularly), most of them are content with two or three, generally one old one, the wife by the first marriage, and one or two younger ones, not so much because of the [605] difficulty of providing for the needs of many companions, but because of their rarity. In fact we shall see later that many wars have no other end than to procure women.

12: Rivet--605 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 562

The status of these latter [KS: women who are captured in war] is entirely inferior. Despised by the husband, they are only slaves destined to serve him, to prepare the chicha and the food, to spin and to weave the cotton, to cultivate the chacra which surrounds the house. They also take care of the domestic animals, collect the firewood, gather in the harvest and make the household pottery. On the trail, during the day the woman walks behind her husband. At night, she goes ahead of him to frighten off snakes and show him the road. (1) In every case it is she who carries the burden. Vacas Galindo reports that a young Indian whom he had asked to carry a small package for him laid it down before entering the house of his relatives because, he explained, only women did that kind of thing. (2) Perhaps we should see in this custom not the manifestation of the sense of superiority of the male, much as the necessity he finds himself under of being always ready to defend himself and his own.

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1. Simson. op. cit., page 392.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima. op. cit., page 125.

12: Rivet--605 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 574, 562, 152

When the Jíbaro women come with their husbands to visit a white man, he is not permitted to talk to them, under the pretext that "they are not worth the trouble". Besides, they don't know any Spanish. When a friend of the tribe comes to the house, they never take part in the conversation; they do not approach a group of men except to bring chicha; if by chance the husband questions them, they answer right from the kitchen. The visitor does not greet them and pays no attention to them.

This contempt on the part of the Jíbaro men does not, however, exclude great jealousy, a sentiment which distinguishes them from their neighbors, the Zaparos. Simson reports that at Pintuc it was public knowledge that an old Indian who lived on the bank of the Pastaza had killed one of his six wives for infidelity. (1)

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 387.

12: Rivet--605-606 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 867

From a very early age the young Jíbaro boy is conscious of the superiority attached to his sex and, barely grown, he treats her [606] who gave him life with the same scorn that his father does; besides, at the death of his father, he inherits all of his father's authority regarding his mother. He never marries before he is 17 or 18 years old; all during his childhood and adolescence he has an absolutelyindependent existence and receives a purely physical education; he learns from his father the hate for enemies, the taste for vengeance, and the desire for special glory that pleases his people. Missionaries relate that when a warrior has captured children during an expedition, he brings them back alive to have them killed by his own sons, thus to take away their fear of spilled blood and pain. (1)

1. Collecion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., 5th map, page 48.

12: Rivet--606 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 883, 152, 583

A young man can stay under the paternal roof as long as he wishes, his mother serving him in the same way as she does his father. This period is for him a time of unrestraint and sometimes of crime. He dares all, making love without scruple to all the women that he meets, and his lack of conscience goes so far, according to certain travellers, as to kill his sister's husband so as to be able to give the young widow to a friend of his own choice. In other words, in certain tribes, particularly at Gualaquiza, it is not the father but the brother who gives his sister in marriage and with no other formality than his acquiesence, the fiance takes away the one he has chosen.

12: Rivet--606-607 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 585

At Macas, the prospective husband makes his demand to the father and the father imposes on him the condition of going into the forest to hunt for five or six days. At the end of this time, the fiance returns loaded down with smoked meat which he presents to the young girl. If the father considers that he passed the test well, he accepts him for a son-in-law and even, if he is young, [607] robust and especially clever, he does not hesitate to give him two or three daughters. He immediately ties on to the arms of the newly-wed couple a band of coffee-colored cotton as wide as a finger, woven by the wife herself. The fiance pierces a little hole between his wife's lip and chin, through which she puts as an ornament a pompom of brilliant feathers, and then offers her a tarachi and some other feminine ornaments. The couple paint themselves and dress themselves up as well as they can. An old man of the tribe "who undertakes the office of priest" (?) (1) gives them a decoction of tobacco to drink, and the celebration continues as a dance, with singing and drinking during two or three days. It is, at least for this tribe, the only occasion where one sees the Jívaro dancing in couples. According to certain Indian informants the fiance opens the vagina of his wife with the aid of bones prepared for this use, in order to make her more capable of intercourse.

Before marrying, the young man must always clear a piece of land, plant manioc and bananas, and construct and furnish a house; after that his only obligation is to get clothes for his wife and to furnish the necessary game.

Ordinarily, it is only at the end of several years that he chooses other companions.

1. Vacas Galindo, Nankijukima, op. cit. page 122.

12: Rivet--607 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 584

The young girl is never consulted in her choice of a husband. Besides, very often, they marry her off at an age when she would be incapable of having an opinion. Actually, she is sometimes promised to her future husband at the age of six years, sometimes even younger. In this case, she is brought up in his house and to his taste by his other wives, until she is old enough to be their companion in misery. On the subject of the age of marriage, there exists, at least among the tribes around Macas, a curious custom; when a daughter is born, the parents plant three or four chontaruru plants around the house, which they care for with great interest; when these palms begin to bear fruit, i.e., at the end of seven years, the child is ready to marry.

12: Rivet--607-608 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 582

In spite of the precocity of the unions, it is rare for a Jíbaro woman to become a mother before the age of thirteen or fourteen years.

Marriage may occur with any degree of kinship except the degrees in the direct line or the first collateral degree.

The Indians seem little concerned with harmonizing the age of the [608] spouses, and one often sees men of thirty to forty marrying little girls of six to twelve.

12: Rivet--608 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 586

The husband has the right not only to repudiate his wife, but even to kill her, sometimes without the slightest motive; sometimes when she has grown too old and cannot work any longer, he turns her out of his house, with no thought of the long time she has served him (1). This omnipotence becomes particularly odious when the unfortunate woman, instead of belonging to a friendly or related family, has been captured from an enemy tribe in the course of a war expedition.

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. 6th map, page 57.

12: Rivet--608 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 562, 833

Even in the interior arrangement of the house, there is a real separation of the sexes among the Jíbaros, not as clear as among certain peoples, but nonetheless evident. In consequence, the Indians never have intercourse in the dwelling, but always outside, in the cultivated field which surrounds the house.

12: Rivet--608 [3] (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 844

Certain authors have noted the couvade among the Jívaro (1). Gonzalez Suarez describes this strange custom as follows: "When the moment of birth arrives, the Indian woman goes into the woods to a place where the husband has prepared in advance a sort of portico of three sticks. The cross bar is placed at a height calculated so that the woman hanging from it by her hands finds herself on tiptoe, and in this position she bears her child. As soon as she is delivered she goes to the nearby river, washes the newborn child, bathes herself, and goes back to take care of her domestic duties.

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1. H. W. Bates. Central America, the West Indies and South America. 2nd edition, London, 1882, page 331 - 342.
Elisee Reclus. Nouvelle Geographie Universal, 18.
Amerique du Sud, Les Region andines, Paris, 1893, page 443 - 444.

12: Rivet--608-609 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 846

At the house her [KS: post parturient mother] husband is in bed, groaning and simulating real illness (1)." Simson (2), who made a very short stay in the Jívaro village of Pintuc, also reports that the mother has to go through all the agonies of childbirth exposed to the open air, while the father [609] rests in the house, is careful of his diet and takes care of himself for several days. Colini also gave these details. (3) It is astonishing that neither Velasco, Villavicencio, Cevallos, Raimondi, Cordero, Wolfe, Reiss, nor the Dominican missionaries, nor the Jesuits, Franciscans or Salesians, speak of such a remarkable custom which would surely have attracted their attention. From my own personal information obtained from diverse sources, I feel able to affirm that among the tribes in the vicinity of Canelos, Macas Gualaquiza and Zamora, this custom has disappeared, if it ever were really practiced. It is probable that a custom existing among neighboring peoples, the Piojes in particular, has been wrongly attributed to the Jívaros.

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio historico sobre los Canaris. op. cit., page 32. The learned Ecuadorien historian does not say where he got these curious details, which, however, he did not repeat in his Historia del Ecuador.
2. Simson. op. cit., page 338.
3. Colini. Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 18.

12: Rivet--609 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 846

The Jivaro woman takes no care of herself after the birth, and does not interrupt her daily work. An Ecuadorian traveller told me of having seen an Indian woman working in her house the day after having given birth. A little more pale than ordinary, she seemed weak and tired in her movements. But her husband, on being questioned on the subject of her getting up so prematurely, answered that his wife was all right, adding "and who would do the cooking if she stayed in bed?" All the egotistical authority of the male appears in this typical response. It sums up perfectly the feelings of the savage about women; it is the brutal formula which regulates the contacts of the sexes in the forests of the eastern Ecuador.

12: Rivet--609 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 765, 428

Property is transmitted from male to male (1), generally from father to son. When the husband dies, the wives of the deceased take off all their ornaments, cut their hair, and stop painting their faces and body, as a sign of mourning. In a word, they renounce all elegance.(2) It is not true, nowadays at least, that the favorite wife follows the head of the family to the grave.

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1. Lubbock. op. cit., page 31.
2. Collecion de cartas etc. op. cit., page 61.

12: Rivet--609-610 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 768

Usually, widows go to live in the house of the brothers of the deceased, where they increase the harem, or else they return to their family; even in that case they quickly remarry; an Ecuadorian who has lived for a long time in this region [610] only once saw a woman living alone and independent in the company of her two sons. She had already had two husbands and refused to make a third experiment.

12: Rivet--610 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 764

There is no uniformity in the mode of burial. Ordinarily, the savages dislike inhumation (1), and the missionaries have had to fight very hard to bring the baptized Indians to dispose of their dead in the little cemetery which surrounds the church of the Mission; only children are buried with no ceremony. (2) Often it is the dying person who, before he takes his last breath, indicates the kind of burial which would please him, reminding his relatives not to leave his body exposed to the weather nor to forget to put in chicha or food, etc. (3) Sometimes the body is seated against a big tree, sometimes in the trunk of a big cedar (4) and shut up in its own house, which the relatives immediately abandon. A traveller has assured me that sometimes it is simply thrown into the water.

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1. Villavicencio. op. cit., page 357.
2. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.
3. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 154.
4. Coleccion de cartas, etc., page 61.

At present, the custom that tends to prevail is to put the dead person on a little platform under a shelter constructed either in the middle of the forest or in the corner of the field around the house. Padre Pancheri, a missionary to the Gualaquiza, who has had the chance to observe this practice closely, on going out to look for the body of a baptized Jívaro chief in order to bury him religiously, has given an excellent and minute description of it. (1)

The shelter consists of a nice little house, 2 m. long and 1 1/2 m. wide. Seen from the outside, the whole thing looks like an embankment surrounded by a strong palisade covered with living plants; the inside is like a little room , containing a chair with a back, where they seat the corpse, hand and feet crossed, after having dressed it in its best clothes and all its personal ornaments. A second circular palisade surrounds the body so closely that it cannot possibly fall from the chair. This palisade is even more solidly built than the other, and covered inside and out with huge leaves that will even keep the mice out; it rises and ends almost in the [611] form of a tube, the main opening of which is closed by a very thick disk of wood making a cover, on which is placed a big rock. In the little circular corridor which is found between the first and second barriers a great quantity of fruit is placed; manioc, bananas, meat, etc; many earthenware pots full of chicha and other liquids are attached to the walls. The description

1. Bulletin Salesien, August, 1896, page 178.

of the Salesian priest is very definite. "We had to," he said, "break the first palisade with a big knife. Here many vases of chicha were hanging, and it was only under the second palisade that the bones of Captain Huambashu were found."

In the old days, they left the body in its own house, which was immediately abandoned. Vacas Galindo describes this ceremony as follows: (2) "They seat the dead person on a kutanga well tied to one of the pillars of the house. They put his lance in his hand so that he can defend himself from the other souls, human or animal, who might come to trouble his sleep. The women put around him many pinangas of chicha, pots full of an infusion of guayusa, plates full of manioc and bananas; then the doors of the house are closed and fastened solidly and the relatives go to live in some place far away."

It is probable that the necessity of constructing a new house after each death has brought the Jívaro little by little to renounce this custom.

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2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 155. Bishop Manuel Plaza gives an analogous description in Compte. I. II, op. cit., page 295.

12: Rivet--611-612 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 621, 555

Among the Jívaro there are no real social groups nor the least embryo of government. Each Indian is absolute master of his own affairs, acts individually and depends on no one. He associates with his neighbors only for feasts, big hunts, big fishing parties, and war; these temporary associations leave him his complete personal liberty of action.

In other words, the tribe is only a group of allied and [612] often related families ready when necessary to give each other aid and assistance. The chief of this group is the one who by his endurance, his skill, his intelligence, his courage and also by luck imposes himself on the individuals of the neighborhood. His authority rests only on a tacit assent, carries no exterior emblem or sign, and in no case is transmitted by heredity to his descendants. His role is limited to the coordination of individual efforts in special circumstances. In times of peace he has no longer any special attributes. Occasionally, a peril or a common hate make allies of neighboring tribes, but these alliances are only temporary.

12: Rivet--612
116, 574

(no date) 1907

Jívaro

The relations between the members of the tribe are constant and even daily. One of the principal occupations of the Jívaro is to visit his neighbors. These visits have a very special character and one might say are regulated according to an almost invariable protocol. Before he arrives, the visitor stops at the edge of a river, bathes, combs his hair, paints his face and chest, puts on a fresh itipi, puts the tendem on his head, and announces his arrival by blowing into a horn or shell which makes a loud noise (1), so that the friend may be aware of the intentions of the new arrival and have time to get dressed himself.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 79.

12: Rivet--612-613 (no date) 1907 Jívaro-1
116, 574, 521

The Jívaro enters the house saying, "Uinahe" ("I have come"), to which the host answers simply, "Uiñita" ("Come"). Then he sits down on a bench near the door without adding a word. This coldness on the part of the visitor and indifference on the part of the host are the rule. It is not until the latter, properly dressed, is seated opposite the new arrival and has asked him why he has come and where he is going and where he has come from, that the conversation commences; a strange colloquy of extraordinary animation, vivacity and volubility; each one in his turn taking the floor and hurriedly pouring out what he has to say in a loud and sonorous voice. "All the body goes into action, hands and feet moving, the chest heaving, eyes flashing fire, forehead burning, and the hair violently thrown back from the head falling on naked shoulders." (1) One would think that a violent dispute had broken out between the two friends, but they are simply talking; while one speaks, the other approves, confirms, gets excited, and shows by his various comments [613] the interest he takes in the speaker's recital. At the end of half an hour of this tiring conversation that foreigners, even those most used to the Jívaro language, cannot follow or understand, the tone becomes more natural and more calm, and the Indian does not disdain the joking that refreshes and brings a smile to the lips of these wild savages. This is the moment when each woman offers to the visitor a pininga of chicha. If the host has only one wife, she must offer three bowls of drink.

1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 8.

It has been noted that the Jívaro always talks thus in groups of two, and that the chief of the tribe, for example, does not communicate his instructions in a collective way but speaks individually to each member of the tribe (2), when he wants to assemble them in case of war or for any expedition, hunting or fishing, or for a feast. In short, the Jívaro captains use nothing but dialogue and never harangue their soldiers.

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2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 84.

12: Rivet--613 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 574, 202, 621

These continual visits, in spite of the often considerable distance between houses, constitute the bond which unites the scattered members of the tribe. There is one other; the tunduli, that curious instrument whose presence I have noted in every habitation, the sound of which is heard for 15 kilometers around. The only comparison we could make would be to bells in our country. As they do, it announces death, joy or danger. It is by this means that an attacked Jívaro can demand aid and help from his allies. Even more, it constitutes a veritable telegraphic system. The spaces between the openings make different sounds when struck, and according to the interval between them on their tone, these sounds take on very precise meanings to the savage. Missionaries have noticed many times the incredible rapidity with which news travels by this means through impenetrable forests. The tunduli takes the place very well in the Jívaro country of the fires used by certain people (1).

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1. Simson. op. cit., page 387. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 57.

12: Rivet--613-614 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 621, 157, 164

In spite of their apparent isolation the Jívaro live socially; but up to the present time they have put up great resistance against grouping themselves in villages. It must be said that this repugnance can be explained not only by the desire for independence which is so well developed in them, but also by the fear of the diseases brought in by [614] the whites, especially smallpox which breaks out in fatal epidemics in Indian groups.

12: Rivet-614 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 437, 258

The commercial relations are very restricted. The natives fatten hogs and raise chickens to sell to the whites, where they are in contact with them. The exchange of salt is certainly the most important because of the rarity of this product in the region. The few sources of salt in the forest are jealously exploited by the neighboring tribes. One of them, called Huénunga, is situated on the borders of the river Maembaimi, another exists not far from the river Zhuizha and bears the name of Mayahiko (1). The Jívaros often go there from considerable distances. The water is collected and evaporated in clay pots; at the end of two or three days it is only necessary to break the container to obtain a big ball of very hard salt.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Limites Ecuatoriano Peruano, op. cit. I III, notes on pages 416 and 417. The commerce in salt is very old among the Jívaro. We have actually seen the origin of the struggle between them and the Canaris was over the possession of salt sources.

12: Rivet--614 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 437

In certain regions where they are in contact with the whites, the natives occupy themselves with gathering rubber, which they exchange at the trader's for iron tools and weapons, bad guns, cheap rubbish, and especially alcohol. They also skin the beautiful birds from their forests and one sees them occasionally coming into the villages with parrots, monkeys and vanilla.

12: Rivet--614 [3] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 434

The commerce in mummified and shrunken heads at one time developed in a disquieting fashion and the government, fearing that the appeal of easy gain would incite the natives to continual wars in order to procure the heads, or even to attacking the whites themselves, forbade the sale of these hideous trophies, a rule which was, however, without force.

12: Rivet--614 [4] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 437

To the neighboring Indian peoples, the Jívaro sells the magnificent blowgun that he makes with such skill and care and receives arrow poison in exchange from the people of the lower Amazon, and drums from the Indians of Napo.

All these transactions are performed by barter, since money exists only in the places inhabited by the whites.

12: Rivet--615 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 437, 721

To sum up, properly speaking, commerce does not exist and the Jívaro until this day has no use for his energy, activity, and intelligence except in the bloody battles that his tribe wages ceaselessly against the neighboring tribes.

12: Rivet--615 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 181, 721

One could say without exaggeration that the state of war is the normal state of the Jívaro. The resulting constant strain obliges the native to live always on guard, always ready to attack or defend. He never knows the restful, beneficent calm of peace. In these forests of the Amazon, there is nothing but assaults, surprises, bloody scenes, and never-satisfied hates which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

The causes of these hostilities are very numerous: often it is the necessity of getting women or even the appeal of profitable pillage. More often it is a matter of vengeance to be satisfied, vengeance founded on griefs that are sometimes real but usually imaginary as we shall see when later we study the role of the sorcerer. The law of the talon is actually the only law that rules these savage tribes. But even if these diverse motives did not exist, the Indians would still make war simply for the pleasure of it, by an instinctive need of their nature. They are also driven by the desire to acquire that very special glory that the possession of many shrunken heads gives in a Jívaro country. These trophies are no less an object of pride to the savage than commemorative medals are to the European soldier. In addition to this, these human mummies are the center of many beliefs and of many ceremonies, so obviously superstitious in character that the study of them belongs with the subject of religious life. In this chapter I will describe only their method of preparation and their principal characteristics.

12: Rivet--615-616 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 721, 152

It would seem that among the people where the state of war is, so to speak, permanent, bravery should be the dominant virtue. In reality, there is none of it, because the Jívaro rarely attacks openly. If he is acting alone, with the patience of a deer in hiding, he waits for his enemy hidden behind the trunk of a tree and pierces him from behind with a blow of his lance. But more often the Indians work in bands of fifty individuals at least and sometimes of a hundred or more, and in this case the whole plan consists of falling unexpectedly on [616] the adversary or surprising him in the middle of his sleep, or even better in the middle of a drunken feast; it does not cost the Indian anything to gain his end while exposing himself as little as possible. He shows an extraordinary endurance during these expeditions, sometimes very long and far away. For instance, the tribes from around Macas sometimes make incursions on the Kanduashis which necessitate an absence of three months, although the greatest part of the trip is made in canoes by the Kangaimi, Morona and Cetuchi Rivers. The missionaries speak even of expeditions of the same people against the Patucamayas of the lower Santiago, or the Huambisas of the lower Morona. (1) Almost all the journey is made by night marches through dense forests, with their food reduced to minimum. Often, in order not to leave traces, they follow the bed of a stream, down which they swim for whole leagues. They never advance in any case without being preceded by scouts. (2)

1. Coleccion de las cartas, etc. op. cit. carta sexta, note on page 63-64.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op.cit., page 166.

12: Rivet--616-617 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 721, 152

So courage is replaced here by the cleverness of a cat which glides and bounds upon its defenceless prey. On each expedition, only two or four houses are attacked because the aggressors know that they must have twenty to twenty-five people in order to surround a house and not let anyone escape. If the band arrives in the proximity of the place where it expects to operate without having been discovered, it waits until the second half of the night and when everyone is asleep, the assault is made: sticks with one sharpened end and the other wrapped in dry leaves carefully tied and lighted make huge flaming arrows, which set the straw roofs on fire. (1) When the surprise is well carried out, the besieged people, before they have time even to defend themselves, stifled by the smoke, fall before the lances of the assailants. Only the young women are spared. Taken into captivity, they become the wives of the conquerors. Children are also sometimes spared: they are kept as I have already said, for a more cruel death, under the unskilled blows of the children of the victorious tribe. Fire completes the work of pillage; the plunder-laden group, pushing before them the [617] unhappy captives, sisters, daughters and wives of the warriors whose bloody heads swing sinisterly on the shoulders of the conquerors, flees in all haste before the sun rises; the same precautions are taken as when they came in order to avoid an attack by the relatives or allies of the victors.

1. Bulletin Salesiane, August 1896, page 197.

Such are the customary methods of war among the Jívaros. Formerly, the tribes of Gualaquiza and Zamora practiced special tactics; these consisted of closing the roads and preparing enormous pieces of rock on the hilltops which overlooked them. These were rolled down on the invader.(1)

These details make the failure of the Incas', as well as the Spaniards', attempts at conquest understandable.

The existence of the savage is dominated by the perpetual state of alarm in which he lives. He never goes out at night in normal times; he rarely goes far from his house without taking with him his wives and his family; he is never separated from his lance, and during his sleep he always has it within reach of his hand. If two Jívaros do not recognize each other when they meet in the forest, the conversation begins at a great distance and each one keeps his weapons in the position of attack; if the tension relaxes, the point is little by little brought back toward the body and rested against the waist, the handle of the lance being pointed up; if confidence is completely established, the lance slides toward the ground, the handle resting freely against one of the shoulders.

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador. vol. 6, page 214.

12: Rivet--617 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 361, 202

We have seen with what care the Indian hides his house in the deepest woods with no regular path to it, this placing having no other point except to multiply the difficulties for anyone coming to attack. The walls leave no opening by which anyone could introduce a lance. In every house big pots of water are always ready on boards resting on the roof beams, in order to put out fire quickly. The tunduli plays an essential role in these nocturnal attacks. It is the tocsin which, with incredible rapidity, calls the members of the tribe to the aid of the besieged.

12: Rivet--617-618 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 712

When the Jívaro expects an attack he arranges a series of traps around his habitation: these are carefully hidden ditches where the enemy impales himself on sharp wooden sticks or perhaps they are automatic shooting arrangements made with the aid of vines. The aggressor, on touching one of them, sets off apparatus [618] and the skillfully arranged lances pierce him from all sides. (1)

When the menaced Jívaro is the chief of the tribe or a person of prestige, he constructs a very remarkable kind of a fort on the top of a hill where he can see a long way. Four enormous strong posts, 25 m. high, chosen from among the strongest in the forest, support a little room 3 m. square with a floor of strong wood, a roof like those in the houses, surrounded by a wall of chonta and caña one meter high. A big ladder is the only way of getting in. In this fort are placed an enormous tunduli, rocks to be thrown against the assailants, lances, machetes, implements of every sort, and occasionally a good Winchester rifle completes the armament. It is unnecessary to add that all the approaches are protected by numerous traps. (2)

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 66.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 68-69.

12: Rivet--618 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 152, 721

One can easily see what unusual characteristics this constant state of hostility gives the life of the Jívaro, and what an unusual mentality it has created in him. One understands equally well what importance the disappearance of these bloody fights has for the future of the race.